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JOURNAL OF THE
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A ROMANY VOIVODE OF GYULA FEHÉRVÁR

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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JOURNAL OF THE
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VOLUME I

(JULY 1907—APRIL 1908)

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PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE
GYPSY LORE SOCIETY, 6 HOPE PLACE, LIVERPOOL
BY T. & A. CONSTABLE, PRINTERS TO HIS MAJESTY
AT THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Л. И. КОТЗОВА

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6 HOPE PLACE, LIVERPOOL

Year ending 30th June 1908

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FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1908

INCOME

182 subscriptions for the year 1907-8, . . .	£182	0	0
14 " " " 1908-9, . . .	14	0	0
Instalment of subscription for 1908-9, . . .	0	10	6
One extra number sold to a member, . . .	0	5	0
Donation towards the expense of producing Mr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> from an ex-president of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, . . .	25	0	0
Balance, being expenditure over income, . . .	129	5	4
	<u>£351</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>

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Discounts for year 1907-8, . . .	£1	16	2
" " 1908-9, . . .	0	6	2
		<u>£2</u>	<u>2 4</u>
Management and Correspondence—			
Account and Receipt Books, . . .	1	4	3
Cheque Books, . . .	0	5	0
Rubber Stamp, . . .	0	4	0
Stationery, . . .	12	6	0
Postages, . . .	7	6	2
Auditor's Fee, . . .	0	10	6
		<u>21</u>	<u>15 11</u>
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Illustrations, . . .	6	18	6
		<u>45</u>	<u>8 0</u>
No. 2. Letterpress, . . .	38	0	6
Illustrations, . . .	7	1	11
		<u>45</u>	<u>2 5</u>
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		<u>40</u>	<u>9 1</u>
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<u>£135 17 8</u>	<u>£135 17 8</u>

I have examined the Books, Accounts and Vouchers, of The Gypsy Lore Society, for the period ending June 30, 1908, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

[Signed] JOHN M'CORMICK,
Chartered Accountant.

21 VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL,
November 16, 1908.

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property—

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Mr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> (partly printed), . . .	22 6 6
Illustrations prepared for Volume II., . . .	4 19 0
Subscriptions in arrears, less discount, . . .	2 18 0
	<u>£103 15 4</u>

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. I

JULY 1907

No. 1

I.—PREFATORY NOTE

BY DAVID MACRITCHIE

IN the year 1851, under the title of *Lavengro*, George Borrow published the first section of his remarkable autobiography, for such it is to a great extent, although interwoven with much that is fanciful and often inaccurate. In 1857 the second portion, *The Romany Rye*, made its appearance. There is no attempt to round off the end of the first portion, or to indulge in a prelude to the second, or to bridge the hiatus in any fashion. To quote Mr. John Sampson's graphic words:¹ 'After a slumber of six years the dingle re-awakes to life, Lavengro's hammer shatters the stillness, and the blaze of his forge again lights up its shadows, while all the strange persons of the drama take up their parts at the point where the curtain had been so abruptly rung down.'

Between the history of this famous Gypsy classic and that of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* there is a certain manifest resemblance. Founded in 1888, the Journal held on its way serenely until the spring of 1892, when its career was somewhat suddenly arrested. The Society of which it was the outward expression did not actually cease to exist, but it fell into a trance more profound and more prolonged than the

¹ Introduction to Methuen's edition of *The Romany Rye* (London, 1903).

mesmeric slumber which enwrapped *The Romany Rye*. Not six years only, but fifteen have passed since the Journal bade a temporary farewell to its readers. But at last the spell is broken. The long sleep is over, and the Society, more vigorous than ever, has resumed the work which it laid down in 1892, and is devoting itself with renewed energy to the prosecution of Gypsy study in all its various phases.

Of the *dramatis personæ* upon whom the curtain was rung down fifteen years ago, many are again on the stage, alert and eager as before. But, on the other hand, there is a melancholy list of honoured names which have now passed into history. Even during the first period of activity (1888-1892) several of our comrades dropped out of the ranks. WILLIAM JOHN IBBETSON, to whose suggestion, made in 1887, the Gypsy Lore Society owes its existence, died in 1889, only eighteen months after the issue of the first number of the Journal. In the same autumn the death occurred of JOSEF JEŠINA, an esteemed colleague, although not a member of the Society, author of the now rare *Romani Čib* (in Bohemian, 1880; 3rd edition in German, 1886). A year later we lost the versatile SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON. And in 1891 three of our most distinguished members passed away—the great Slavonic scholar FRANZ VON MIKLOSICH, of Vienna; ISIDORE KOPERNICKI, of Cracow, eminent in anthropology, philology, and folklore; and ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, of Athens, Byzantine antiquary and Romani grammarian, whose article on Turkish Gypsies opened the first volume of our Journal. Since 1892 others of our comrades have successively fallen. PAUL BATAILLARD, whose minute and careful inquiry into the movements of Gypsies in Western Europe during the fifteenth century enriched many pages of the Journal, died in the spring of 1894. Three years afterwards the Society lost another valued member in the venerable PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS, Spanish Arabic scholar. The death in 1902 of FRANCIS HINDES GROOME, my friend and fellow-worker in the affairs of the Journal, was a heavy blow to all who interested themselves in his favourite study—not to speak of their sense of loss at the extinction of that rare and striking personality. The Introduction to his *Gypsy Folk-Tales* (London, 1899) is a treasury of recondite learning, displaying a combination of scholarship and intimate knowledge of Gypsy character which has never been equalled. A year later died CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, first President of the Gypsy Lore Society. Although

he did not profess or attain to the scientific mastery of the language possessed by a number of our colleagues, his long acquaintanceship with Romanes made him at home with Gypsies in all lands. His free and attractive literary style did much to awaken or to stimulate an interest in Gypsy matters among those who had previously been indifferent or were only beginning to realise that the subject was worthy of serious consideration. Among those thus stimulated I take pleasure in acknowledging myself one. Perhaps he will best be remembered by his discovery of 'Shelta,' the ancient jargon still spoken by tinkers at the present day. No one was more gratified than himself when the investigation carried on by Professor Kuno Meyer and Mr. John Sampson revealed the fact that this jargon was originally fabricated out of Old Gaelic by the ancient Irish bards.

At various dates, since the cessation of the Journal, the Society has been deprived by death of others of its best supporters. The chief of these are: THE ARCHDUKE JOSEF of Austria-Hungary; RUDOLF VON SOWA, professor at Brünn, Moravia; A. ELYSSEEFF, of St. Petersburg; R. G. HALIBURTON; JAMES PINCHERLE; GRAZADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, the distinguished Italian philologist, of Hebrew race; HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI, a lifelong student of the Hungarian Gypsies; and WENTWORTH WEBSTER, best known for his intimate knowledge of the Basque language and people. The three last-named have all died during the present year.

It is only due to the memory of our former associates that their names should be here recalled, but I have no desire to moralise upon the old theme of *Ars longa, vita brevis*, although it naturally suggests itself. The fact that so many eminent men have found a subject of serious study in the language, history, and characteristics of the Gypsies, ought rather to serve as an incentive to those who are now following them in the same lines of research, with all the manifest advantages to be derived from the work of their precursors. For there is, fortunately, in addition to the veterans of the old Society, a strong and vigorous contingent ready to prosecute these studies still further, and haply to solve more than one question that has hitherto only been guessed at. This new series of our Journal will presumably differ in some details from the earlier series. But whatever its leading features may prove to be, it begins its career under the most favourable auspices, and needs no fortune-teller to predict its success.

II.—GYPSY LANGUAGE AND ORIGIN

BY JOHN SAMPSON

TO some peculiarly constituted persons the name GYPSY is like that other great name that came as a hot blast from the East, maddening men's minds and constraining them to enroll themselves as followers. The passion takes us in different ways. Some, who perhaps next to the Romané themselves are the truest Gypsy gentlemen, adopt the life because they prefer it and its people to their own. They cultivate the race as some care for flowers, without feeling impelled to turn nursery gardeners or scientific botanists. Such was the late Francis Hindes Groome, who would have been amply content never to have written a line about the Gypsies, provided he had been allowed to live in his own fashion with the people of his choice. In others, among them even those who grasp the truth that Gypsy life is worth more than Gypsy lore, love of the Kâlé breeds a strange fury to search deeply and curiously into everything that can be known of the race. Anything good, bad, or indifferent that has ever been written about them must be read and examined. New theories must be propounded—and it seems to be a point of honour with almost every Romano Rai to run a theory of his own—or old ones revived, debated, defended, or confuted, while ghosts of the dead and damned walk abroad unexorcised. What Halliwell held of Shakespeare, that 'no journey is too long, no trouble too great, if there is a possibility of either resulting in the discovery of the minutest scrap of information,' is equally true of the Rai and the Romani-chal. In the ardour of the chase there is a danger that even the gentle art of collecting may be pushed beyond bounds. So a little while ago I found myself held aloof by a field full of Hernes, forewarned by an antique Gypsy (who had met me twenty years before) that 'dis man would cut de heart out of your breast if he thought he'd find a new word into it.' The subject grows. We are lured on into highways and byways. There is a charm in this huge enchanted jungle of Gypsy Lore, with its great forest trees, entangling undergrowth, half-hidden swamps, and untrodden tracts, which one would be sorry to see supplanted by straight ways and official signposts; and much less would one wish to lay down the law to a brother hunter as to what game should be

pursued, or how he should make his bag. We all go as we please. My own object here is not to settle, offhand, problems which so far have baffled considerable minds, but merely to present and summarise the conclusions of others, showing how the study of language re-acts upon the question of origin, and drawing attention to some points towards which future research might profitably be directed.

Are we at all nearer the answer to the old question—the Gypsies' original home and race, and the period and cause of their dispersal? The Romani riddle has been solved so often and so variously that at first sight it seems to be a greater riddle than ever. They are, we are told, Egyptians or people who may have come by way of Egypt, Sudras expelled by Tamerlane, Jats, Doms, Dards, Changars, the heretic sect of Athingani, the Sigynnae of Herodotus, or a prehistoric race who have always lived, so to speak, at our back doors. They are even, says M. Steur, the descendants of the dwellers in the sunken Atlantis. Is it purely a matter of fancy which of these ingenious theories we accept?

Few serious students have disputed that the key to this problem is to be found in the study of the language. Prior to the fifteenth century historical references are scanty and obscure. Most will agree with Paspatis that 'la véritable histoire de la race Tschinghianée est dans l'étude de leur idiome.' It is to the evidence of the language that we owe Rüdiger's discovery in 1777 that the Gypsies are of Indian and not of Egyptian ancestry.¹ It is through a wider knowledge of the tongue that we have been able to rope in the question to a narrow compass, and to prove that certain views which had received the support of weighty names are no longer scientifically tenable. And it is to a more complete acquaintance with the Asiatic Gypsy dialects and those of the obscure tribes of North-Western India and beyond that we look for the discovery of the 'great secret.'

For these reasons it may be desirable to refer briefly to the chief works by which our knowledge of the language has been advanced. I begin with the great name of Pott—apt name for the capacious vessel in which the crude scraps from the *monging gonos* of half a hundred collectors are resolved into a delectable Gypsy *zumin*. Pott's *Zigeuner* (1844-5) incorporates almost everything of value from the gleanings of previous workers,

¹ Grellman a year or two later arrived independently at the same conclusion.

and for the first time applies to Romani the exact principles and methods of comparative philology. The printed and manuscript material used by Pott comprehends vocabularies and examples of the dialects of Germany, Prussian-Lithuania, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, the English collections of Marsden, Bryant, Bright, Irvine, and Harriot, the Spanish Gypsy of Borrow, together with a few examples of the Asiatic dialect, to which I shall refer later. He also, and here our Journal proposes to imitate him, deals incidentally with the jargons of different lands. Out of this confused débris the German philologue, working, as he himself says, 'mit fast zu viel Geduld,' achieved his titanic task of reconstructing the fallen temple of the Gypsy tongue. His two volumes contain a comparative grammar and dictionary, in which the words of Indian origin are compared with Sanskrit and the sister vernaculars, while the Iranian and European loan-words are referred to their various sources.¹ Pott's general conclusions have never been disputed, viz. that all the diverse Romani dialects, in spite of the foreign influences to which they have been subjected, are of one and the same origin, and that in them one cannot fail to recognise a distinct national language closely allied with Sanskrit, and originating most probably in the dialects of the extreme north of India.²

When Pott wrote, the purest and deepest European dialect of Romani, that of the Graeco-Turkish Gypsies, was entirely unknown. This vast addition to our knowledge we owe to the labours of Dr. Alexandre Paspatis, whose *Memoir on the Language of the Gypsies as now used in the Turkish Empire*—an expansion of a slighter article, contributed five years before to an Athenian Journal³—was first published in English in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1862. This monograph was afterwards elaborated and extended into the precious *Études sur les Tschinghianés* (Constantinople, 1870). As a collector Paspatis has no rival. His specimens of the language are not arid translations of Æsop or the Hebrew Scriptures, but the veritable talk of the tents. In the rich medley of his lexicon we catch tags of folk-tales,⁴

¹ In his vocabulary he indicates the former by an asterisk (*) and the latter by a dagger (†). It must be recognised that with later knowledge the position of Pott's stars and daggers have occasionally to be changed; but the errors of this great pioneer are to be venerated, not decried.

² Pott's *Ziguner*, i. xv.

³ Μελέτη περί τῶν Ἀταγγανῶν, καὶ γλώσσης αὐτῶν (Νέα Πανδύρα, 1857, Nos. 178-182).

⁴ Paspatis himself, strangely enough, seems to have valued his Gypsy folk-tales

hear snatches of rude songs, and overhear the still ruder conversations of the farouches Zapparîs. His book is the wind on the heath, not the dusty *hortus siccus* of the philologist. And since Greek Romani preserves for us in its integrity the most perfect of the dialects, it affords a standard of purity for those of all other European countries, and makes it evident that all are derived from the speech of a single stock resident for a considerable period in the Peloponnesus before their dispersal in the early fifteenth century. This fact effectually disposes of the theory attributed to Kounavine that the Gypsies entered Europe by several distinct routes, *e.g.* the Spanish Zincali by way of Sicily from the remote coasts of Africa, the English and Greek by the Ægean Archipelago, and the Scandinavian Gypsies by way of Siberia. But Kounavine is not to be taken too seriously. His theory of Gypsy migration is on a par with his discovery that 'Aramaic, Semitic, and even Mongol words form twenty-five per cent. of the Gypsy vocabulary.' I agree with M. Elysseeff that Kounavine's material relating to 'ancient traditions and songs of ritual' illustrating the 'cosmic ideas and primitive mythology' is, of 'unique originality.' 'Khakhava' may perhaps be the ancient religious name in Eastern Gypsy ritual for Brahma, but is equally good Western Romany for 'I deceive.'¹

merely as specimens of the language. He prints in full only six folk-tales, but tells us in his 'Avant-Propos' that he has several manuscript volumes of tales among his papers. Is it too late to trace and recover them? I commend the idea to Gypsiologists as a treasure-trove more worthy of quest than the 'material' supposed to be buried with Kounavine under Siberian snows. It was reserved for Groome (who did so many things first and best) to identify from fragments cited in the vocabulary a number of *Märchen*, Gypsy variants of which Paspatis must have known, and with patient ingenuity to piece them together in the introduction to his own *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 1-111.

¹ Our knowledge of Kounavine and his theories is derived from a paper read by M. Elysseeff before the Russian Geographical Society in 1881, and reprinted in translation in our late Journal, ii. pp. 93, 161 *seqq.* In my opinion Elysseeff's communication should take rank with M. Louis de Rougemont's contribution to the anthropological section of the British Association at their Bristol meeting; and as to Dr. Michael Ivanovitch Kounavine, I am inclined to say with Betsy Prig that 'I don't believe there is no such a person. M. Elysseeff, writing in 1881, tells us that a year or two before, at a Russian spa, he fell in with Kounavine, then recuperating from the effects of his life-long peregrinations among the Gypsies of Germany, Austria, France, Italy, England, Spain, the Balkans, Northern Africa, Kurdistan, Central Asia, 'and all other nations too tedious to mention,' to quote the words of Sylvester Boswell in his self-bestowed certificate. M. Elysseeff obtained from 'the venerable worker' his 'immense store of materials, consisting of 123 tales, 80 traditions and legends, 62 songs, and 120 smaller products of Gypsy poetry' (*J.G.L.S.*, ii. p. 94). But in the preface to vol. i. of the same Journal, writing in July 1888, the editors tell us that 'it is now seven years since the death of Dr. Kounavine, a Russian physician who had abandoned his profession to wander

The extraordinary value of Paspati's find was at once apparent. Here was a dialect showing the minimum of foreign influence, more primitive in form and accent, more copious in vocabulary than all or any of those dealt with by Pott. But even more apparent, perhaps, to the philological world was the audacity of the uncertificated *lavengro* who naïvely assured his readers that he had paid much more attention to the Sanskrit than his predecessor, the learned Herr Professor of Halle.¹ It may be doubted whether Paspati had read Pott at all. But if he had it was certainly in the same way that Borrow might have done, without even a guess at the principles upon which the latter's etymologies were based. The necessary task of bringing Paspati's material into line with Pott was undertaken by the great orientalist Ascoli, whose *Zigeunerisches*, published three years after the appearance of the English monograph, discusses the new points of interest and rectifies many of the haphazard etymologies of the 'wackeren Griechen.'² On linguistic grounds Ascoli arrives at the conclusion that the Gypsies are natives of Sindh who had sojourned for a long period among the Afghans.³

To Beames and Miklosich are due the next important advances in Gypsy philology, the former approaching the subject from the Indian and the latter from the European side. In 1866 John Beames of the Bengal Civil Service, a Sanskrit scholar possessing a first-hand acquaintance with most of the Indian vernaculars, began his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, the three volumes of which dealing with the Sounds, the Noun, and the Verb, were published respectively in 1872, 1875, and 1879. His work thus overlaps that of Miklosich, which appeared by instalments in the publications of the Wiener

for thirty-five years among the Gypsies of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. What was the value of his vast collections we can only conjecture, for from that day to this no trace of them has come to light. They perished with him somewhere in Siberia.' The hint is too vague to encourage a Gypsy Schliemann. I do not attempt to reconcile these statements, but if both are correct, then Dr. Kounavine must have reclaimed his 'material' soon after M. Elyasseff delivered his lecture. Why? I wonder.

¹ Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 2.

² Paspati's only rejoinder (*Études*, p. 7) was the reminder that 'l'étymologie est un terrain glissant,' and that Ascoli's own remarks on the derivation of *namporemé* 'ne sont pas dignes d'un homme si connu.' One can picture, however, his quiet amusement at the perplexity of the great philologist confronted with the task of taking down a single line of a song from real live South Italian Gypsies (see Ascoli's *Zigeunerisches*, p. 131). And even when dealing with the simpler matter of the printed language there is a terrible *lapsus* in Ascoli's introduction (p. viii), where he defines *gelids* as 'du kamst,' and compares it with the 2nd pers. sing. in Marathi.

³ *Zigeunerisches*, 'Vorwort,' p. viii.

Akademie, 1872-80, a circumstance which gave each the advantage of referring to the conclusions of the other. Beames traces 'by a natural regular process' the development of the Aryan dialects of India from the purely synthetical stage in which the language remained for many centuries after the race entered the country, to the more or less analytic form of the modern languages. It is rather a pity that Beames's recognition of Gypsy as one of the modern languages of India only began after the publication of his first volume. Gypsy is thus ignored in his chapters on phonetic change and development in the seven sister dialects. As his work progressed, however, he brought Romani into his scheme, taking his examples from Miklosich and Paspati, for Pott he does not seem to have known. His knowledge of the Gypsy tongue cannot be esteemed profound,¹ but every page of his book throws sidelights on its phonology and word-structure, and provides material for comparisons which the student of 'Egipthe Sprache' can pursue further for himself.

We should note also Beames' opinion upon two points where he may be presumed to speak with authority. In the first place, treating of the period and chronological sequence in which the Neo-Indian vernaculars began to assume their present form, he gives the eleventh century as the epoch of the rise of Hindi with its subsidiary forms Gujarati and Panjabi. Later comes Marathi, which remained a Prakrit till the twelfth or thirteenth century, and later still Oriya, which only completed its transformation in the fourteenth century. The place of Sindhi, to which, according to Beames, the Gypsy language is most nearly akin,² he tells us he cannot determine with precision, but leaves us to infer that it must have been later than Hindi. The importance of this conclusion as an indication of the period when the Gypsy exodus must have taken place cannot be overlooked. In connecting Romani with Sindhi, however, it must be remembered that Beames' survey only takes account of the seven chief languages, ignoring the ruder forms of folk-speech, of which, as he himself confesses, very little is known, and that elsewhere he assigns the origin of the Gypsies to the deserts of the Indus and Chenab, and specifies Kashmiri as the nearest allied Indian speech.³

¹ For instance, he mistakes the indic. pres., 1st pers. sing., for the infinitive, because Paspati places verbs in his vocabulary under the first form and defines them under the second (iii. p. 235-6, 1879).

² Vol. iii. p. 169.

³ Beames, iii. 98, ii. 345.

The contributions of Franz Miklosich to Romani philology cover a wide field, to only the chief portion of which it is here necessary to refer. Like Pott, he availed himself to the fullest extent of the material of his predecessors, testing it with the prescribed reagents, and neatly pigeonholing the results of his analysis. I should call Miklosich a master of method rather than a master of Romani.¹ It is impossible to feel of him, as we con-

¹ Like many another great generaliser, Miklosich did not trouble much about small matters. This is especially apparent in his treatment of loan-words. His swollen catalogue of Slavic elements in Gypsy contains, as Prof. Fr. Müller pointed out, a considerable number of words belonging to the common Aryan stock, some of which the Gypsies undoubtedly carried with them from India. In his analysis of the English Gypsy dialect we have such odd statements as that *iasia vallacai*, defined by Bryant as 'to command,' contains the Magyar element *vala* in *valaki*. As a matter of fact the phrase is merely *jas* or *vel akai*, 'go or come here.' Our complaint is not so much that this and other derivations are inaccurate as that they are so inherently improbable as to show a want of instinct for the genius of the language which would have been impossible to Pott. In the same way we find Miklosich giving German *von* as the original of English Gypsy *fon*. Did he suppose that on the breakdown of the old inflectional system (which occurred only two or three generations ago) the English Gypsies deliberately selected a foreign word to replace the idea conveyed by the lost ablative? '*Fon*,' or, as it is more usually pronounced, '*fun*,' is of course merely the dialectical pronunciation of English 'from.'

Miklosich often changes his mind about an etymology, and when he does so his practice, as M. de Goeje complains, is to make his correction '*tacitement*.' Thus the first derives Gypsy *them*, 'country,' from Greek *θῆμα*, though the termination in a consonant points to an Indian or Iranian original, and a year later he connects it with Sanskrit *dhāman* (*Beiträge*, ii. 22). This is more likely to be right, since the change of Sanskrit aspirated media to Gypsy tenuis is perfectly regular—cp. Sanskrit *dhāma* with Gypsy *thūv* (*Mundarten*, ix. 29). There is more danger in these haphazard etymologies so positively stated when, as in the case of the list of his Armenian loan-words, they cause us to draw false deductions. According to Miklosich, vi. 66-8, 1876, there are no less than twenty-six Haik words in European Romani—a number large enough to indicate that the ancestors of our Gypsies had lived in Armenia for a very considerable period. I believe that this list should be greatly reduced. In the first place, we may reject as a light-hearted aberration the idea that Armenian *gn-al*, 'to go' (after skipping six intermediate dialects), reappears in the Russian Gypsy phrase *te roz-genés*, 'auseinander gehen,' recorded by Böhlingk. In Russian and every other known variety of Romani the one word for 'go' is *jā*, the sacred Sanskrit *ग*. Equally improbable are the derivations of *mušonój*, 'ant-heap,' and *puršukí*, 'crumbs,' both found only in the corrupt Roumanian dialect from the Armenian *məřjún* and *p'šrank'.* *Košak*, 'button,' a word which does not occur in the Greek dialect, may be Armenian, but Miklosich had previously given it as Slavonic (i. 18, No. 201). *Aśán*, Rumanian Gypsy for 'grindstone' (but cp. Paspatis, *aśán*=wheel), Miklosich refers to Armenian *ĵēśán* instead of Skr. *śāna*, on the ground that Gypsy *s* for *ś* (vi. 67, vii. 10) is borrowed from Armenian. But against this view compare his chapter on phonetics (ix. 37), where he gives a number of instances of the change of Sanskrit *ś* to *s* in Gypsy and some of the modern Indian vernaculars, e.g. Sanskrit *śikā*, Gypsy *sik*, Hindi *sikhā*. We can next strike out, on the authority of Miklosich himself, the words *čam*, 'bread,' *džar*, 'beard,' *čandžel*, 'to itch,' *khuró*, 'foal,' *pakjára*, 'I trust,' *per*, 'belly,' since in his later vocabulary he refers them all to Indian sources, without any mention of Armenian. In the same list the Gypsy words *čaró*, 'pail,' and *dakhár*, 'king,' are traced to Sanskrit and Zend respectively, the Armenian cognates being now given a secondary place. Of the remaining thirteen words which Miklosich definitely assigns to Armenian (vii. viii.

stantly do of Pott, that he knows his words intimately, is on happy terms with them, and loves each of them for its own sake. To the great Slav grammarian words are merely members of groups, serving to exemplify the phonetic laws upon which he relies to guide him to ultimate conclusions. His studies are directed to a definite end—the discovery of the origin of the Gypsies, the secret which he seems determined to wrest *vi et armis* from the grip of the language. Realising more absolutely than Pott the collective value of loan-words as evidence of the precise route taken by the Gypsies, and even of the length of their stay in the various countries through which they passed, Miklosich makes this province peculiarly his own. His classified lists of foreign elements in the different dialects establish the fact that all European Gypsies belong to one and the same stock, who must have lived for a considerable while in Greece and Slavonia before settling in their present homes. In the light of these researches he arranges the dialects in a hierarchy of thirteen orders where Greek ranks first and poor ‘*Englisch-schottisch*’ has the penultimate place. Miklosich next set himself to show that besides the Persian loan-words which Pott had already noted, there are a certain number of Armenian elements in all the European dialects.¹ This discovery is important in view of its bearing upon certain theories regarding the migration of the Gypsies, for it shows us that after passing through Persia they travelled north by Armenia and not south by Arabia.

The latter part of Miklosich's work consists of a comparative dictionary and grammar.² In the vocabulary, though incomplete and somewhat inaccurate, his clear arrangement has the merit of exhibiting at a glance the different forms of words found in the European dialects in the order of their development. His *Lautlehre* elucidates general phonetic laws invaluable to the student

passim), the Indian or Persian etymologies offered by Pott, Ascoli, and others seem to show that in several of his examples the question may still be in doubt. This leaves a few words, such as *dudám*, ‘gourd,’ *chomé*, ‘bread-crumbs,’ *morit*, ‘skin,’ *thalik*, ‘mantle,’ and *ruš*, ‘flax,’ which do appear to be words immediately derived from Armenian, and to this list Prof. Müller has added at least one true Gypsy Armenian loan in Gypsy *čikát*, Armenian *čakat*. Personally I know as little of Armenian as Belle Berners, and merely draw attention to this matter in the hope that Prof. Finck or some other Armenian and Gypsy authority will think the subject worthy of investigation.

¹ *Mundarten*, iii. p. 4, 1873; vi. pp. 66-8, 1876; *Beiträge*, iv. p. 42, 1878.

² *Mundarten*, vii. viii. (1877), ‘Vergleichung der Zigeunermundarten’; ix. (1879), ‘Lautlehre’; x. (1880), ‘Stammbildungslehre’; xi. (1880), ‘Wortbildungslehre’; xii. (1880), ‘Syntax.’

who desires to compare Gypsy with other Indian idioms, and no one can thoroughly understand Romani without being master of Miklosich's beautiful section on word-formation.¹

He had completed three-fourths of his work before chance threw in his way the material for his most noteworthy discovery. He had already published the two parts of the vocabulary before he became aware of a new important source of comparison in the dialects of the Dards and Kaffirs of the Hindoo Koosh, first given to the world some ten years previously by the explorers Trumpp and Leitner. Miklosich, on phonetic grounds and especially on the retention of the consonantal nexus *-st* in words like *vast* 'hand' (Skr. *hasta*), makes out a strong case for believing this region to have been the home of the Gypsies.² Pischel, writing five years later, is apparently of the same opinion, and supports it historically by stating that 'it is a remarkable coincidence that, so far as we yet know, the migration of the Gypsies from India must have taken place at exactly the same time as the struggles between the Dardu tribes—i.e. at the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century.'³ And it will be observed also how closely this is in accord with Beames' conjecture that Kashmiri is cousin-german to Gypsy.

Here—not because of the exhaustion of material, but for dearth of labourers in the right field—the epoch-making works on the language may be said to end. It is no disparagement to the contributions of more recent collectors, grammarians, and philologists to recognise that new knowledge of particular dialects, such as Slovak, Brazilian, or Welsh Romani, can at most only modify Miklosich's rough classification of the varieties of Romani, leaving his main conclusions untouched. Nor can any future line of investigation upset the fact of the common origin of the

¹ To give one simple example. Borrow and other English Gypsy grammarians regard the *-m-* in the common suffix *-mêngro* or *-mîngro* as 'euphonic,' a belief which accounts for the appearance in their vocabularies of such impossible forms as *rukamêngro*, 'squirrel', from *ruk*, 'tree.' Substantives in *-mîskro*, *-mîngro*, etc., are really the genitive sing. or plur. of abstract nouns formed from verbs, and verbs only. (Germ. Gy. *tachipaskero*, 'prophet,' being the only legitimate exception which occurs to me). Thus the *-m-* is a contraction of the suffix *-ben* (Skr. *tvana*). See Miklosich, x. pp. 47, 60, *sqq.*, Pott, i. pp. 129, 141, e). Cp. Gk. Gy. *toibndakeri* [= *toiben-eskeri*], 'washerwoman,' Germ. Gy. *tovipaskeri*, Welsh Gy. *tovimaskeri*, where *to*=verb-stem, *-i-* the connecting vowel, *-m-* the contraction of the suffix *ben*, *-as* the stem of the oblique or accusative, *-ker* the termination of the so-called genitive, and the final *i* the sign of the fem. sing. *Tovimaskeri* therefore means literally 'the woman of the washing,' *tovimangeri*, 'the woman of the washings.'

² Miklosich, *Beiträge*, iv. p. 45-54, 1878.

³ Pischel, *Die Heimath der Zigeuner* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, Jhrg. ix. p. 374, 1883).

European Gypsy dialects, or that in the Turkish-Greek Gypsy preserved by Paspatis we have the purest member of this group.

We are therefore in a position to apply the conclusions drawn from the comparison of European Gypsy with other Indian languages to the various ethnological theories which have been brought forward. There is, for instance, the prehistoric theory, according to which there have been Gypsies in Europe for more than two thousand years, and that to this people Europeans owe their knowledge of metallurgy. Those who hold with M. Bataillard¹ that the Gypsies are identical in race, not only with the Sicani of Sicily and the Sigynnae of Herodotus, but also with the metal-working Sintians of Homer (a folk speaking a wild speech), have before them the difficult task of reconciling this assumption with the positive knowledge that Romani is not only an Indian, but a modern Indian tongue which can only have originated under the same conditions and about the same time as the other Indian vernaculars.

A more definite theory of the Gypsies' early appearance in Europe endeavours to identify them with the Athingani, an early Paulician sect of heretics and sorcerers. The most important of the references bearing upon this point in early Byzantine writers ranging from the seventh to the thirteenth century have been brought together by Miklosich in his *Mundarten*.² He does not, however, seem to hold the view that the Athingani (who, as he points out, were a sect, not a people) were our Gypsies, but merely that the name of the former had been transferred to the latter by the Greeks, for one or other of three reasons—because they may have entered Greece by way of Phrygia and Lycaonia, or because they had perhaps adopted, according to their custom, the creed of the people among whom they had lived immediately before, or because the name may have been applied to them as a term of reproach. If I may hazard a fourth conjecture of my own, what seems most likely to have been the case is that when the Gypsies first arrived in Greece they bore some tribal name which we may assume to have been the original form of the European variants Zigeuner, Zincali, etc., and that this was altered by the Greeks to the nearest similar name with which they were familiar. I am unable to agree with M. de Goeje in interpreting Miklosich's comments on the passages referring to the Athingani as a modifica-

¹ Bataillard, *Derniers Travaux*, 1873.

² Vol. vi. pp. 57-61.

tion of his earlier dictum¹ that the Neo-Aryan language, Romani, cannot have originated before the year 1000 of our era. What he says is, that 'if these references relate to our Gypsies, it will be difficult to explain the close relationship between Gypsy and the Aryan languages of modern India.' Ergo, he rejects the hypothesis.

To a lesser extent the same linguistic difficulty appears to me to stand in the way of our acceptance of the supposition that the Gypsies are identical with the Indian Jats. This attractive theory, first brought forward by Col. Harriot,² discussed by Pott,³ accepted and afterwards abandoned by M. Bataillard,⁴ and championed with characteristic sword-play by Sir Richard Burton⁵ (himself a writer on the Jats and author of a Jataki grammar) has for its chief exponent the distinguished Orientalist M. de Goeje, who, in his *Contributions to the History of the Gypsies*,⁶ has collected and presented all the references which seem to support the contention. According to this view the Gypsies are the descendants of twelve thousand Indian minstrels of both sexes who, as Firdusi tells us in his *Shâh Nâme*, were imported into Persia, about the year 420, at the whim of the monarch Bahrâm Gur.⁷ The same story is referred to by the Arabian historian Hamza of Ispahan, who wrote half a century earlier than the Persian poet. Both writers agree in calling these musicians Gypsies, Firdusi using the ordinary Persian name Luri, and Hamza the word Zott, which is merely the regular Arabic pronunciation of Jat, and still one of the modern Syrian names for the Gypsies. Chroniclers also tell us that in the seventh century, in a war between the Arabs and Persians, the Zott

¹ *Mundarten*, iii. p. 3, 1873.

² 'Observations on the Oriental Origin of the Romnichal' (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. pp. 518-58).

³ *Zigeuner*, i. p. 62; *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, iii. p. 326.

⁴ *Nouvelles Recherches*, 1849.

⁵ See the correspondence in *The Academy* between Burton and Bataillard (March-June 1875), in which the former claims the credit of anticipating M. de Goeje in his identification of the Jats with the Gypsies. These letters are reprinted, 'with advantage,' in Burton's *The Jew, the Gypsy, and El Islam*, 1898, and referred to by M. Bataillard in *J. G. L. S.*, i. p. 191.

⁶ My abstract of M. de Goeje's views is derived from a translation of his original article of 1875, printed with the author's revision and with valuable editorial notes and appendices in Mr. MacRitchie's *Account of the Gypsies of India*, 1886. It is only since the greater part of the present paper was written that I have met with M. de Goeje's *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, 1903, in which the learned author, with admirable lucidity, brings forward further arguments in support of the Jat theory. These, however, do not modify to any considerable extent his earlier conclusions.

⁷ See Persian text and translation, Harriot *op. cit.*, pp. 527-8.

deserted from the Persian forces and settled in Arabia. Early in the ninth century these Zott had become so great a pest in the valley of the lower Tigris that twenty-seven thousand of them were transported to Ainzarba and other places on the northern frontier of Syria. And, lastly, we hear from Tabari that after the Byzantine conquest of Ainzarba, A.D. 855, the Zott inhabitants, with their women, children, and cattle, were carried as prisoners into the Greek empire. This story, which reminds me of the dolorous experiences of our recent German Gypsy visitors, harried from place to place by officious constabulary, is so connected, well-authenticated, and generally credible, that if we relied upon historical evidence alone, it is certainly the most probable hypothesis which has been placed before us. But against it there are several weighty reasons. There is, first, the fact, if we accept the verdict of the Pandits, that Romani must have assumed its present form in the original home at a much later date than the fifth century.¹ Secondly, there is the objection raised by Miklosich that there are Armenian but no Arabic words in the European-Gypsy dialects.² And lastly, there is the almost conclusive evidence afforded by the publication of O'Brien's *Glossary of the Multani Language*, 1881, that Jataki, the living representative of the parent tongue of the Indian Jats, is very unlike Romani.³

¹ Miklosich and Beames agree in placing the evolution of the Neo-Aryan languages somewhere about the year 1000 A.D. But while great weight must be attached to this opinion, it cannot be entirely overlooked that the huge gap between the break-up of the Prakrits and our first knowledge of the modern vernaculars makes any positive statement rather of the nature of dogmatism. Nor does Miklosich himself wholly reject the possibility that at an earlier date, when the modern Indian dialects were taking definite shape, about the Middle-Indian period, the Gypsies may have left their home, taking with them in their language the germ of corruption, and far from their fellow-countrymen have developed an analytic form of language similar to that of the other Indian idioms.

² Implied at least, if not explicitly stated, in his *Mundarten*, vi. p. 63, 1876. But in the next part we find an Arabic-Persian origin assigned to *kisi*, 'purse,' vii. p. 84, 1877. In his later *Mémoire* M. de Goeje, partially accepting the correction of Miklosich, endeavours to show that he himself was mistaken, not in asserting that there were Arabic elements in the European Gypsy dialects, but in the particular examples by which in his earlier work he sought to prove his case. I leave to Orientalists to decide whether the latest examples adduced by M. de Goeje have strengthened his position. The question is a difficult one, but its general bearings may at least be indicated. When Miklosich, admits that *kisi* is an Arabic word, we may safely assume that in his opinion this is merely evidence that the Gypsies picked up this word in Persia after the Arabic conquest had enriched Persian with a large Semitic vocabulary. But according to M. de Goeje this argument is a boomerang, and it might equally well be contended that Persian words in Gypsy had been picked up among the Arabs.

³ Personally I am a little shy of theories, especially when they are based on single words or names, and believe that Goldsmith's lines—

We come next to the Dom theory, first propounded by Brockhaus,¹ hit on independently by Leland, supported by Grierson, and apparently accepted as soon as not, by the reviewer of Groome's article in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*,² Prof. Eggeling, who indeed seems quite willing to accept the Jat theory as well—or indeed any other. Leland's surmise is apparently based on nothing more than the resemblance between the Gypsy names, Rom, Romni, and the Indian Dom, Domni; while Grierson's cursory comparison of Gypsy with the speech of Bhojpuri Doms is unconvincing, built as it is on the quicksand of our shifting English Gypsy speech.³ Grierson is of the 'opinion that the language test points to an Indian tribe speaking a dialect derived from Māgadhi, and not from Śaurasēni Prākṛit, and that therefore it is in Eastern Hindustān that we must look for their ancestors'—a conclusion opposed to the more carefully formed opinions of Pott, Beames, and Miklosich. Again, as Pischel points

" 'Forbear, my son,' the Hermit cries,
" 'To tempt the dangerous gloom ;
For yonder faithless phantom flies
To lure thee to thy doom '—

should be inscribed in letters of gold over the mantelpiece of every theoriser on the Gypsies. So I merely mention as a strange event in my own experience an apparition that troubled me for a moment and then disappeared. I had been wondering idly about the word *chal*—if indeed *chal* be a separate word at all—for I no more believe in Borrow's 'chal' that sat upon his horse than in Borrow's 'engro' who struggled on the ground. But we do know that in some dialects there is the compound *Romani-chal*, which some grammatical pedants (probably wrongly) tell us ought to be *romano chal*. And the immediate question before me was why Gypsies themselves say *romani chal*, and what *chal* can mean. Did *chal* mean fellow? for if so, of course the adjective should have the masculine termination. But, as I knew, Gypsy women as well as Gypsy men called themselves *Romani chals*. Was *chal* perhaps originally a feminine noun, meaning race, or was it the plural *romane chal*? for *chal*, like other nouns ending in a consonant, might properly be used for the plural, as in Greek and Welsh *Romani*. I stared at *chal*, letter by letter. Gypsy final *l* would correspond to Indian *t* or *ṭ* (*pral*, 'brother,' from Sanskrit *bhratar*, *shel*, 'hundred,' from Skr. *śata*, are two of many examples). *a* might represent either a long or short Indian *a*, and *ch* (ṣ) either an original *ch* or *j* (ḡ), as in Gypsy *chib* = 'tongue,' from Indian *ḡhivā*. So there in broad noonday was my spectral Jāt or Jāt to begin with; *romani* was the regularly formed adjective of *rom*, and *rom*, if phonetic laws and Miklosich were to be trusted, was Sanskrit *ḍōma*, Hindi *ḍōm* (viii. 59), the name of a low caste addicted to song and music. So the transposition gave me *Domani Jat*—an odd, and perhaps impossible, combination. How could Doms be Jats or Jats Doms? Certainly Grierson and Temple tell us that all Jats are not of the same order as the gallant defenders of Bhurt-pore, that in the region of the Panjab there are Jats and Jats, and that all along the Indus Jat is a term of contempt for an inferior cast. For a moment the tempter whispered the suggestion that *romane chal* or *Domani Jat* might have originally stood for minstrel outcasts; but whether it means that, or can possibly mean anything at all, I leave others to determine, merely stipulating gently that this is not to be considered my theory.

¹ *Conversations-Lexikon*, 1841.

² *J. G. L. S.*, ii. pp. 188-9.

³ *Ibid.*, i. p. 71.

out, there is the dictum of the ethnologists that the Gypsies are an Aryan race, and that the Doms are not.

There remains the theory noticed by Miklosich and Pischel that the Gypsies may be the Indian Changars, based chiefly upon the fact that the Changars are a wandering race, and upon the similarity of the name Changar and Tchinghiané. The name is a will o' th' wisp, and the language test is indecisive, as Leitner's specimens are too scanty and doubtful to be depended upon, though the word *gocha*, which they are said to apply to one not of their own race, bears a striking resemblance to Gypsy *gajo*. Pischel on the whole is inclined to think the evidence of language makes against the theory.¹ These and other hypotheses as to the origin of the Gypsies are dealt with at greater length than is here possible in his excellent paper on the original home of the Gypsies, which should certainly be republished in the pages of our Journal. In referring to the possibility of solving the Gypsy problem, Pischel concludes in complete accord with Beames and Miklosich that 'our hope rests on the Hindoo Koosh.'

In the Moravian Gypsy *Märchen* the lost boy climbs to the top of a tree, espies a distant light, and drops his cap in the direction he wishes to go.² We may imitate the same expedient. We see that upon certain points where full and accurate information is required our knowledge is scanty and untrustworthy, and it should be one of the aims of the Gypsy Lore Society to stimulate research in these obscure fields. Pending the avatar of a new Paspatis, reincarnated to make Romani his life-mission, our Society might begin by printing a short list of test-words illustrating the phonetic peculiarities of Gypsy, together with a few sentences designed to elucidate the system of inflection and conjugation of the dialects investigated. In Asia Minor, Persia, and India, consuls, missionaries, archæologists, travellers, and students of Eastern languages would be our willing co-adjutors, and their returns should prove of the utmost value. Is there no living Indian scholar, of the type of Kipling's Strickland, who is on sufficiently intimate terms with the wandering Changars to know whether or not he is being 'fubbed off' with 'fosheno lavs,' or has no Orientalist up to the present discovered the nature of the substratum of strange words in Leitner's Changar list which Pischel

¹ Pischel, *Die Heimath der Zigeuner*, p. 366.

² 'The Princess and the Forester's Son,' *J. G. L. S.*, i. p. 89; Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. 145.

tells us are of obscure origin? Is the secret tongue of the Nutts, of which Surgeon-Major G. Ranking presented us with a few examples, merely the jargon it would seem to be? Again, since Miklosich made use of the material of Trumpp and Leitner, what advances have been made in our knowledge of the history and languages of the peoples of the Hindoo Koosh?

More vital even than the prosecution of Indian studies is the need to master the Gypsy dialects of Persia, Armenia, and Syria. Between the Indus and the Bosphorus there is an extensive tract to be caravanned before we can connect the Gypsies of the Peloponnesus with those of Hindustan. What we know of Asiatic Gypsy is barely enough to whet our appetite, but it is sufficient to make apparent the great differences between the Gypsy languages of the East and the West. In the European dialects, though cousins five centuries removed, the descent is so pure and the family likeness so strong that except for a few tricks of speech caught from neighbours, they are for all practical purposes one and the same tongue. Carried afield by wandering Gypsies one dialect glides imperceptibly into another. Among the Zigeunerschaa that travelled last summer through Great Britain, I found Prussian, Rumanian, and Hungarian Romané living together, intermarrying and conversing with hardly a perception that they were speaking different varieties of their mother-tongue. But between the dialects of the Turkish and the Syrian Gypsies there is a breach deeper than the Dardanelles. Slight as is our knowledge of Asiatic Romani, its vocabulary, grammar, and phonetic all bear witness to the long rupture between the tongue of the Nawar and the Tschinghiané.¹ Are we to assume because the former have not strayed so far from the original home, or on the strength of a few archaic forms like *janémi* (Skr. *jánāmi*) that their language must be nearer to the original speech? Or, on the other hand, is it not just as probable that Asiatic Gypsy, under Iranian and Semitic influence, may have departed even further from the Indian Ursprache than have the dialects of Europe? However this question may be answered when fuller

¹ One important difference between Syrian and European Gypsy is the use in the former dialect of the pronominal suffix to the noun, e.g. *serom*, 'my head,' from *seró*, 'head.' According to Beames (ii. 334, iii. 241), the only Indian language in which these suffixes are found is Sindhi, which 'in this respect . . . allies itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu.' This grammatical feature, then, may be either a survival pointing to a near Sindhian origin, or, what is more probably the case, a much later Iranian infection.

information is at hand, it can hardly be doubted that each dialect will throw light upon the other and upon the common origin of both. And as it would seem a necessary preliminary to the study of Asiatic Gypsy to collate and analyse all existing material, applying to it the same scientific method which has carried Miklosich and Beames so far in their study of the European Gypsy and Indian dialects, it may not be amiss here to refer briefly to the half-dozen sources which are accessible to us.

It is now nearly a century since Sir William Ouseley, moved by traveller's curiosity, recorded in his diary seventy-four Persian Gypsy words taken down from a 'shrewd fellow of the tribe called Karátchi, who seemed to resemble our Gypsies in many respects, besides the use of a peculiar dialect or jargon among themselves.'¹ Since that time, our knowledge of this geographically important variety cannot be said to have materially increased, for the Kurbat from whom Major Sykes collected his two lists² hardly seem to have had greater store of Gypsy than the average English showman has of Anglo-Romani. Of the Armenian dialect I write somewhat in the dark, not having as yet been fortunate enough to meet with the monograph in which Prof. Finck has embodied his recent researches. So I know no more than is contained in the queer little list reprinted by Miklosich from an Armenian work published in Venice in 1846.³ But with the Gypsy tongue of Syria and Asia Minor we have some acquaintance, and the variety of sources from which our information is derived adds to the interest of the study of this great dialect, as well as emphasises the essential unity of Western Asiatic Romani.

When Pott compiled his *Zigeuner*, 1844-5, the only Syrian Gypsy known to him were the few words given by Seetzen which he

¹ *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, 1819-23. The passages I refer to are reprinted by Groome, *J. G. L. S.*, ii. p. 22.

² *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xxxii. pp. 339-52 (1902); xxxvi. pp. 302-11 (1906). In a note appended to Major Sykes' Gypsy vocabulary by M. Longworth Dames, the latter says: 'An examination of the vocabulary of the language of the Gypsies of Southern Persia given by Major P. Molesworth Sykes in his *Anthropological Notes on Southern Persia*, shows that this dialect cannot be considered a true language, but that it is rather an artificial secret dialect or jargon such as prevails among similar tribes in India, the Changars, Doms, etc. Nor can it be in any way identified with the Romani of Europe, which is a true Indian language, derived probably from an Aprabhāṣa Prākṛit.' Mr. Longworth Dames' analysis by no means exhausts the true Gypsy words in this collection. I will, however, draw attention only to a single omission which may interest students of English Romani. The word *chamri*, 'fowl' (Khorāsān list, No. 41), is apparently identical with the Greek and English Gypsy *chavri*, 'chicken,' thus disposing of the generally accepted Turkish etymology.

³ *Beiträge*, iv. p. 39.

incorporates in his vocabulary.¹ In the next year, however, he published a short but illuminative criticism of some examples obtained from Gypsies in the neighbourhood of Beyrout by an American missionary, the Rev. Eli Smith.² These specimens include paradigms of the Asiatic Gypsy verb which, in their resemblances to, and differences from, the European conjugation are of high interest. In 1856 Captain Newbold, in a communication to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, furnished a list of words gathered from the Ghagar of Egypt and the Kurbat of Syria. A vocabulary compiled by Von Kremer from the Ghagar of Cairo may be ignored as it contains no true Gypsy elements. In Paspatis's *Études*, 1870, the Greek collector includes in his vocabulary a number of Asiatic Gypsy words collected by the Rev. M. Pratt in the vicinity of Tokhat, as well as others taken down by himself from Gypsies who had travelled from the interior of Asia Minor. Paspatis's notes on the grammar of the Asiatic Gypsies are disappointingly sketchy, but his important tabular comparison of their words with those of the Greek nomads and sedentaries, proves how widely the Asiatic vocabulary differs from our own. And lastly, in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 1891,³ Groome contributed an invaluable list of words and sentences supplied by Miss Everest from the notes which a friend of hers had made some years before near Damascus.⁴ These collections have never been brought together in their

¹ Pott, *Zigeuner*, i. p. 20.

² Hoefers *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, p. 175.

³ Vol. ii. pp. 25-7.

⁴ Among other points of interest in this extremely valuable little list is the light thrown on the declension of the Syrian Gypsy noun (Hoefers's *Zeitschrift*, p. 179). Referring to the words obtained by the Rev. Eli Smith, Pott betrays a little natural disappointment at realising that the translation of *Nân goherus*, 'bring his horse,' forbids his regarding the suffix of the noun as the equivalent of the accus. masc. in -es, it being, as he rightly states, merely the post-fixed possessive pronoun, as in Persian. But in Miss Everest's examples we have, beside the pronoun joined to the noun in words like *bābess*, 'his father' (*bāb*, 'father'), *dādoss*, 'his mother' (*dād*, 'mother'), what appear to be true accusative forms in -us—*mooshnaw waggyus*, 'light the fire' (*agg*, 'fire'), *marraguss* [= *marr aggyus*], 'extinguish the fire,' *nushttār wultus*, 'remove the stone' (*wūtt*, 'stone'), and *qaghdttus*, 'he brought the book' (*qaghdt*, 'book'). Then *adn qashst agaya*, 'bring wood for the fire,' suggests the dative feminine (cp. European Gypsy *an kasit yagaki*), just as the last word in *kāny pūndh Hasbiak Rishceayta*, translated 'where is the road from Hasbeiya to Rasheiya?' (? to Hasbeiya from Rasheiya), suggests the ablative (cp. *minzaytta*, 'from here'). The adjective sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the noun, e.g. *ttulla kiry*, 'a large house,' and *qashst gurda*, 'hard wood.' The plural is in -en as in Paspatis, e.g. *hana creen*, 'those houses.' With *hayta wa hota*, 'here and there,' we may compare the Welsh Gypsy 'kai ta 'koi, and, lastly, is it too far-fetched to recognise our English Gypsy *koito* in *khashtoori*, 'quite well'?

entirety, though M. de Goeje, with a view to demonstrating the common origin of the Gypsies of Europe and Asia, has given, in a *tableau comparatif*, the Eastern Gypsy forms of European Gypsy words contained in the vocabulary of Miklosich.¹

Even the most cursory glance at Syrian Gypsy opens up new vistas of interest, and sheds an Eastern illumination on the occidental dialects. We find in the Asiatic dialects the survival of many original words which the Western Gypsies have lost or replaced by European loan-words. Among these are *bihēmi*, 'I fear' (Skr. *bhayāmi*), which has given way to *trašava* or *darava*, and *pathon*, 'road' (Skr. *pathin*), supplanted by the Greek *drom*, perhaps in indirect testimony to the superiority of the solid Roman road of the Byzantine empire to the old caravan tracks which had carried our wanderers from India. Noteworthy, too, are the new meanings taken on by particular words. Thus *kangri*, our word for 'church,' still stands in the dialect of the Asiatic Gypsies for 'a cart' or 'wagon,' for which we Westerns use the Kurdish loan-word *vordon*. The fact needs explanation. But it is not easy to accept either Paspatis's guess that the Gypsies may have seen some resemblance between their own turret-shaped wagons and the battlemented churches of the Christians, or to catch the relevance of Miklosich's note that by an edict of Nicetas the Goths of the fourth century had a holy image placed on a car and carried round for worship to the camps of their Christian compatriots. Is this, as a severe reviewer asked of an equally wild conjecture of Groome's, 'a mere momentary outburst of Gypsy frolic, or can it be a serious relapse from the scientific to the mythological frame of mind'?

Again—for there is always a fascination in speculation when it is in inverse ratio to knowledge—it is hard to resist the attempt to determine how far peculiarities of the Syrian dialect throw light upon the route taken by them in their travels. The presence of Arabic words of course proves nothing, unless it can be shown that these occur also in European Romani, and here M. de Goeje's proffered examples have still to find general acceptance.²

More important, as it seems to me, is his statement that there are no Armenian words in the Syrian dialect. Is this the case? It is worth inquiring into, for whichever way the matter be settled, it is certainly one of great historical significance. If we accept Miklosich's catalogue of Armenian elements in Gypsy, then the

¹ De Goeje, *Mémoire*, pp. 40-5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

presence of two words, *ghi*, 'heart,' and *bus*, 'flax' (Eur. Gyp. *vus*), is sufficient to prove that the Gypsies of Syria passed through Armenia.¹ But, as I have already indicated, I find a difficulty in believing that Miklosich was verbally inspired in his Epistle on the Armenians. At any rate, a good case may be made out for regarding *oghî*, 'spirit' (Hind. *jî*), as a word of Indian derivation, and it is worth notice that four other Armenian words which appear in the European dialects are represented in Syriac Gypsy by words of non-Armenian origin.² So, as Miklosich says—though perhaps not often enough—'die Sache ist mir dunkel.' Let me add, however, that even if it could be shown, on wider knowledge, that there are no Armenian words in Syrian Romani, we should not be committed to the acceptance of M. de Goeje's theory. The fact would merely point to the conclusion that the main body of Gypsies after passing through Persia had separated into two troops, one of them travelling north through Armenia and becoming the ancestors of our European Gypsies, and the other turning south and settling in Syria, where their descendants are still found.

Interest centres then as much in the study of Syrian Gypsy as in the tongues of North-West India. We must learn more of the Asiatic dialects before we can determine the exact degree of kinsmanship between the Gypsies of the East and the West. Are our European Tchingans and the Nawar of Damascus both, as M. de Goeje supposes, the descendants of ancestors who lived long in Arabia and Syria, or did the ancestral bands from which each are sprung part company in Persia? Or may not the Syriac Gypsy brood represent a separate invasion, though, as the language test proves, they must have come from the same region, at about the same time? These are questions which can only be answered with a much deeper knowledge than we possess of the Gypsy dialects of Asia. In the prosecution of these studies lie the discoveries of the future.

¹ The fact that M. de Goeje overlooks these words is due to his neglecting to include Paspatis's Asiatic Gypsy words in his 'tableau comparatif.'

² Viz. *dakhâr*, 'king' (Mik. Armenian *lagavor*), Syrian Gy. *padishah*; *dîar*, 'beard' (Mik. Armenian *dîzar*), Syrian Gy. *gutç*; *mortî*, 'skin' (Mik. Armenian *morî*), Syrian Gy. *meshin*; and *grast*, 'horse' (Mik. Armenian *grast*, 'beast of burden'), Syrian Gy. *agôra*. The Greek sedentary Gypsy *grast*, 'horse,' preserved in our *grasni*, 'mare,' may of course be derived from the Armenian word, but I see no reason to doubt that the Greek nomadic Gypsy *grai* comes from the Skr. *ghora*, 'horse.'

III.—A WORD ON GYPSY COSTUME

BY J. H. YOXALL, M.P.

(With an Illustration)

I SUGGEST that a student with leisure and a turn for it could deduce from dated pictures a highly interesting and authoritative monograph on Gypsy dress. The subject goes deeper than pictures, I know; pictures reflect the surface of it only, and the subject goes *au fond*. Who, therefore, will study out and tell us, for instance, why yellow is so much a Gypsy colour? Was it a sense of fitness and colour-harmony with their complexions which first made Gypsy women so fond of yellow kerchiefs and yellow beads, and Gypsy men so fond of yellow neckties? Or was it, in the origin, the effect of some sumptuary law, such as the ordinance applied to Jews in mediæval days, compelling the wearing of a distinctive hue? Worn by mediæval Jews, the colour of yellow in costume had a separative, contemptuous, and degrading significance; was it ever, for the same reason, forced also upon the wanderers of the roads?

Maybe that bit of research has been accomplished already, but what I now write to suggest more definitely is the study of dated pictures which represent Romany scenes, or introduce Gypsy figures into landscapes. David Cox and that other great water-colourist, Peter de Wint, were fond of depicting Gypsies; De Wint in particular visited the tans, was received with friendship, made careful drawings of Gypsies, and put them into his pictures, which therefore show what English Gypsies looked like in the third, fourth, and fifth decades of last century: there was no doubt a good deal of spiritual kinship between the Romanies and the wandering sketchers of that period. In 1868 Frederick Walker painted 'The Vagrants,' a picture now in the Tate Gallery, but there was by then hardly anything distinctive left in the Gypsies' dress. About what date did Gypsies begin to adopt a dress which resembled the costume general in the land in which they dwelt? A careful study of dated pictures might tell us that.

Two such pictures lie before me as I write. One is an etching signed and dated 'Le Prince, 1764.' The inscription at the foot of the print is in French, and the title of it is 'La diseuse de bonne Avanture.' To a philologist that 'a' in the word 'avanture'

would sufficiently date the picture, taken alone. Jean Baptiste Leprince was the inventor of the aquatint method of engraving, but there is no sign of the aquatint process in the print before me; it is pure line. The picture shows the sunlight of summer in Siberia. Two naked children lollop in the shadow of a tent; an aged dai traces the lines in the hand of a young Votiack girl; a bearded rom stands beside them, and a juvel leans on the tent-pole, scornfully watching. It is the old story—old even in 1764—of the 'right dukkeripen.' Now the Siberian native girl is dressed in the peculiar garb of her country, and *the Gypsies are not*. The rom wears a kaftan, it is true, but the dai is girdled with a woollen scarf, striped with colours at the ends; a striped mob-cap (that is the best description I can give of it) is tied on by a kerchief which passes underneath the chin, and a striped cloak hangs about the bowed old shoulders. I notice that the mob-cap is edged with dangling sequins. The inscription at the foot of the picture may be englished as follows: 'In Russia (Siberia) there is a great quantity of the sort of people who, originating in Bohemia, wander ceaselessly in caravans, bringing up their children according to mere Nature, often rubbing them with oil and then exposing them to the sun. These people live here, as elsewhere, on the credulity and silly curiosity of simple folk, and find their most serious occupation in stealing whatever they can.' One cannot doubt, from this picture, that yellow and red, dangling coins, and semi-Oriental tissues characterised the garb of Siberian Gypsies a hundred and forty-three years ago.

The other picture is a pastel, signed and dated 'G. S. 1806'; at the back of it is written 'The Gipsy Girl.' 'G. S.' was George Shepherd, rather well known in his day for his studies of single figures. The juvel stands at a stile which she has just crossed, when emerging from a copse; she looks down upon a typical English valley. She is a strapping lass, and her features are not very distinctively Romany, but she has the true Gypsy pose and air. She wears a black beaver bonnet, of the shape now used by Salvation Army women, and it is tied down upon her head by a chequered red kerchief which passes under the chin. A string of yellow beads lies loosely about her neck and shoulders, which are shown. From her shoulders hangs a red 'golf-cape' (as such a garment is now called) over a long whitish tunic and a short red skirt. It would seem that by 1806 English Gypsy women must have adopted the English style of country dress, but the



La disense de bonne Avanture .

En Russie il y a une grande quantité de ces sortes de gens, et surtout de Bohémiens, et tout ainsi que par Cirassiens, élevant leurs enfans selon la simple nature, les peignent souvent d'huile et les exposent en suite au soleil. Ils vivent comme ailleurs de la Créature, et de la folle. Curieuse, des gens simples, et font aussi leur plus accoutumée occupation de voler tout ce qu'ils peuvent. La fille qui se fait dire la bonne Avanture est habillée à la manière des Vénitien, peuple de sables.

reds and yellows persisted, and come out distinctively in this pastel.

One must make allowances for artistic licence, I know, and pictures are not entirely authentic documents; but perhaps I have indicated here a line of research which some member of the Society less cumbered with affairs than I am may usefully take up. Any pictures which show the antiquity of the Tzigane conventional costume would be particularly valuable in this respect. Is there anywhere a collector of pictures and drawings which represent Gypsies? A very interesting collection of that kind could be made. Would it be practicable for the Gypsy Lore Society to commence and somewhere house a Museum of Gypsy belongings? Or is it now too late for that?

[It is not, at all events, too late to collect in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* reproductions of such prints and pictures as illustrate the dress which Gypsies wore, and not merely the fertility of the artists' imagination. A collotype by the Oxford University Press of Le Prince's 'Diseuse de bonne Avanture,' which Mr. Yoxall has described in this paper, makes a good beginning; and I shall be glad if the possessors of other suitable pictures will lend them to the Society, in order that copies may appear in later issues.

The importance of the place which costume occupies in the mind of a Gypsy is shown by the following minutely detailed description of Abram Wood, who entered Wales about 1720, and became the progenitor of the Welsh Gypsies. It was given to me, during her visit in November and December 1900, by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Wood, known more generally by her nickname Taw.

Abram, she said, 'was very tall, but not so very lusty, and middling thin. His complexion was very dark, with rosy cheeks. His face was round as an apple, and he had a double chin and a small mouth—very small for a man. He always rode on horseback, on a blood-horse, and would not sleep in the open, but in barns. He wore a three-cocked hat with gold lace, a silk coat with swallow-tails—sometimes red, sometimes green, and sometimes black—and a waistcoat embroidered with green leaves. The buttons on the coat were half-crowns, those on the waistcoat shillings. His breeches were white, tied with silk ribbons, and there were bunches of ribbons at the knees. On his feet he had pumps with silver buckles and silver spurs, and he wore two gold rings—only two—and a gold watch and chain.'

I add, from Mr. George F. Black's 'Gypsy Bibliography,' which will be published in this *Journal*, the following titles for members who wish to pursue the subject: 'Sketch of the History, Costume, and Language of the Gypsies' (*Syevernaya Pchela*, Nos. 75, 77, and 82. St. Petersburg, 1838); H. T. Crofton, 'Former Costume of the Gypsies' (*Manchester Literary Club, Papers*, vol. ii. p. 66. Manchester, 1876); H. R. A. Gosche, 'Die Zigeuner als Typus in Dichtung und Kunst' (Berlin, 1879); J. Sampson, 'English Gypsy Dress' (*Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. iii. pp. 155-9. Edinburgh, 1892); and E. Lovarini, 'Costumes used in the Italian "Zingaresche"' (*Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. iii. pp. 160-1. Edinburgh, 1892).—ED.]

IV.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 1. I KÂLI RÂNI.

Provenance : Merioneth.*Narrator* : — Wood.*Dialect* : The speech of the 'Teulu Abram Wd.' I append a few notes explanatory of certain differences in grammar and vocabulary which may not be immediately obvious to students of the 'English-Scottish' dialect of Romany.*Phonetics* : Miklosich's symbols, with a few differences. Approximate sounds.— Long vowels : *â*, Italian 'a,' Eng. 'a' in 'father,' but much more advanced ; *ä* rather like Eng. 'aw' ; *ê* like Eng. 'ny' in 'day,' but purer sound ; *ë* before *r* = French 'è,' Eng. 'Mary' ; *î* as in Eng. 'see,' but purer sound ; *ô* = long 'o' ; *û* = Eng. 'oo' in 'boot.' Short vowels : *a* as in 'cat,' with a tendency to be sounded as 'u' in 'cut' when unaccented in words of more than one syllable ; *e* as in 'met' ; *i* = short 'i,' narrower sound than in Eng., as in French 'fini' ; *o* as in Eng. 'not' ; *u* as in Eng. 'full.' Diphthongs : *âi* as in Eng. 'fly' ; *âu* = Eng. 'ow' in 'now' ; *ôî* as in 'boil' ; *ûî* as in Eng. 'gluey' ; *uî* as Eng. 'we.' Consonants : *č* (*ts*) = 'ch' in 'chin' ; *š* = 'sh' in 'shin' ; *g* always hard ; *χ* = Germ. 'ch' ; *j* as in Eng. ; *ŋ* as in Eng. 'sing' ; *ŋg* as in Eng. 'finger' ; *r* always trilled ; *y* as in Eng. ; the aspirated tenues *k', p', t'* as in '[in]khorn,' '[u]phill,' '[p]hthouse' ; *lh* = Welsh 'll' in 'Llan' ; *rh* as in Welsh 'Rhyl.'

Syllabic stress is indicated only when it falls other than on the first syllable. It will be noticed that syntactical use sometimes influences accent.

Variants : See Groome's note on my abstract of this story in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 256-7.

I KÂLI RÂNI.

THE BLACK LADY.

*Sas tārni édi wontsêlas¹ tan
te kel bûti.² 'Yas³ tan þurî
filišînâti.⁴**P'urî kâlî rânî sas te jivêlas
andrê filišîn. Sikadds⁵ lā sār
sas arê ô kēr, tū þendds lakî ne
te dikêl aról î χestyâr⁶ prê þeskō*There once was a young girl
who wanted a place to do work
She got a place at the old castle.She who lived in the castle
was the old Black Lady. She
showed the girl all that was in
the house, and warned her on¹ *wontsêlas*] for *te wontasêlas*, lit. 'that was wanting.' Verbs borrowed from Eng. form verb-stem in -*as*.² *te kel bûti*] lit. 'that she does work.'³ 'Yas] = *liās*.⁴ *filišînâti*] prepositional sing. fem. used locatively.⁵ *sikadds*] from *sikarîva*, causal of *sikava*, 'I learn.'⁶ *χestyâr*] used in the W. dialect either for 'cupboard' or 'window' (cp. Pott, II. 167).

*meribén. Gyas peski*¹ *kálī ránī*
*pala sō*² *sikadās lā sār.*

her life not to look through the window. And after she had shown her everything the Black Lady went away.

I tārni éai sas korkorí. Sas
*lā*³ *ēi te kel 'rē ō kēr: delas oprē*
*ō lild k'i mesáti. 'Vias arē olákō*⁴
*šerō yekar*⁵ *sō pēndās ī kálī ránī*
lakī trušul ī χestyār. Oprē 'ēas
*top*⁶ *peskē pirē tā 'yas bita*
skamín. Gyas k'i χestyār, tā
dikās aról latī. Dikās ī kálī ránī
*t'ō beg kelénas vērdē.*⁷ *Talē*
perdās ī tārni éai trašudī.

The young girl was alone. There was nothing for her to do in the house: she read the books on the table. Then came into her head what the old Black Lady had said to her about the window. Up she got on her feet, and took a little chair. She went to the window and looked through it. She saw the Black Lady and the Devil playing cards. Down fell the young girl terrified.

I kálī ránī 'ēas oprē, piridās
ō hudār tā 'vrī 'vīds. P'učtās
*latē*⁸ *'Sō dikán arē komōra?'*

The Black Lady rose, opened the door, and came out. She asked her: 'What didst thou see in the room?'

'Či na dikóm. Muk man
*konyō.*⁹ *K'inī šom mī meri-*
*benástē.*¹⁰

'I saw nothing. Let me alone. I am tired of my life.'

Kūrdās lā kálī ránī, tā p'učtās
latē pāpalē.

The Black Lady beat her, and asked her again.

'Či na dikóm, na ēi na pen-
áva. K'inī šom mī meribenástē.'

'I saw nothing. I will say nothing. I am tired of my life.'

¹ *gyas peski*] The ethical dative with verbs of motion has an intensitive force, e.g. *jara mangi*, 'I am going away,' *gyas peski*, 'he took himself off.' See Mik. xii. p. 36 § 2. *Gyas* (or *g'as*), contracted form of *gūas*, is pronounced as a monosyllable.

² *pala sō*] idiom = 'after that.'

³ *lā*] The contracted dative is identical in form with the accusative, e.g. *man*, 'men, tut, tumén, les, la, len, pes, pen, for *mangi*, 'mengi, tuki, etc. See Mik. xii. p. 30 § 7.

⁴ *olákō*] arch. = *lako* or *lakerō*. Cp. Pasp. 68.

⁵ *yekar*] = Gk. Gyp. *yek far*, 'one time.' Cp. *kekar*.

⁶ *top*] Eng. *atop*. Cp. Leland's *English Gypsies*, p. 249: *to kair pyass an' trickis atop o' choro mushis*, 'to make sport of and play tricks on poor men.' The W. Gyps. mostly use *top* for 'on,' *oprē* for 'up.'

⁷ *vērdē*] 'cards,' as if 'carts.'

⁸ *latē*] abl. after *p'uč*; *latē* = Germ. Gyp. *later*, Gk. Gyp. *latar*.

⁹ *konyō*] indeclinable in W. Rom., where it is only used adverbially.

¹⁰ *meribenástē*] abl. sing. masc.; lit. 'from my life.' Oblique stem of abstract noun is formed in *-as*.

Gyas peskī kālī rānī, tā gyas peskī tārnī juvel avrī, lā ēi top ō šero gyas aról ō ruká. K'inī sas-lī. Beštās talē. Kana sig akē¹ mūrš vela top greskō² dumō. T'ā 'dová³ sas yogéŋgerō.⁴ Pučtās latē kái julas. P'endās leskī sār sō kedās ī kālī rānī lakī.

*'Ač oprē, 'xočē⁵ mūrš, 'av pala mandī top ī greskō dumō.'*⁶

Gyas ī tārnī juvel, ta gilē peŋgī kī leskō dakō kēr. P'endās ō mūrš leskī dakī te lhatīās ī tārnī juvel te bešēlas talē. 'Yas lā ŋurī arē ō kēr. 'Yas lā būtiákerī.⁷ Raikenī tārnī juvel sas.

Odōi sas-lī 'koná bersā. Tā 'kava tārnō mūrš wontsēlas te pīrivēl lā. P'endās peskī dakī te kamēlas lā. Romerdās lā 'kava yogéŋgerō. 'Yas tiknō. Tar'ō vodros sas-lī. Ak'ī kālī rānī vela. 'Sō dikān aról ī χestyār?'

'Či na dikōm, na ēi na

The Black Lady went away, and the young woman went out, and with nothing on her head wandered through the trees. She was weary. She sat down. Presently there came a man riding upon horseback. He was a keeper. He asked her where she was going. She told him all the Black Lady had done to her.

'Get up,' said the man. 'Come behind me upon the horse's back!'

The young woman did so, and they went to his mother's house. The man told his mother that he had found the young woman sitting down. The old woman led her into the house. She made her the servant. She was a handsome young woman.

Now she had been there years. And the young man wanted to court her. He told his mother that he loved her. The keeper took her as his wife. She had a child. And she lay abed. Now comes the Black Lady. 'What didst thou see through the window?'

'I saw nothing. I will say

¹ *akē*] from adv. stem *ak-* = *voici*. Cp. *okē*, from adv. stem *ok-* = *voilà*.

² *greskō*] In W. Rom. the short form of the adj. gen. in *-ko* is used adjectivally, the long form *-kero* substantivally.

³ *'dovā*] accent typical. In W. Rom. *odōva* is used adjectivally, or *odovē* substantivally.

⁴ *yogéŋgerō*] In these texts I uniformly represent the consonantal nexus *-n-g-* in the genitive plural by the symbol *ŋg*, as perhaps the most usual pronunciation, but it is proper to point out that *ŋ* and *ŋg* are both occasionally heard.

⁵ *χočē*] = Eng. 'quotha.'

⁶ *ī greskō dumō*] In phrases like this the article *ī* (oblique, for Cont. Gyp. *e*) refers to the noun it immediately precedes, not to the subject of the sentence.

⁷ *būtiákerī*] in apposition to *lā*, lit. 'took her, a servant.'

penáva. Muk man konyō. K'inī šom mī meribenástē.

'Yas ī kālī rānī ō tiknō, tā dīās leskō šērō kotorēndī 'prē yogākō bār. Gyas peskī kālī rānī.

Ak'ō yogēggerō 'vela kerē. Ak'ō jala kī yōī¹ te dikēl ī tiknēskī. Kek tiknō šiš te dikēlas ar'ō vodros. Puētās lutē kái sas o tiknō. Čī na penāds ī tārnī juvel leskī. Niserdās ō murš peskī tā kedās bārī yog, tā jalas te xočérél lā.

'Vīds ī dāi kī lakō čāvō te maḡēl top lestī ne te xočérél lā. 'Yas bārō keribén lesa. Mukdās lā čāvō 'koná tā sōvekedās peskī daki: 'Te' vel ojā pápalē, xočéráva lā.'

'Yas tiknō 'trē berš palál. I kālī rānī 'vīds arē kī yōī. 'Sō dikān arōl ī xestyār ?'

'Čī na dikóm. Čī na penáva. Muk man konyō. K'inī šom mī meribenástē.'

'Yas ō tiknō tā dīās les oprē yogākō bār.

Kana sig 'vīds lakō rom te dikēl lakī. 'Vīds arē kī yōī. Dikās kek tiknō odōī. Dikās ō rat² oprē ō bār.

'Mārdān ō tiknō, miná ?'³

nothing. Let me alone. I am tired of my life.'

The Black Lady took the child and battered his head to pieces against the hearthstone. The Black Lady went away.

Now the keeper comes home. He goes to her to look for the child. No child could he see in the bed. He asked her where the child was. The young woman made no answer. The man went away and made a great fire and was going to burn her.

The mother came to her son to beg of him that he would not burn her. She had a great to-do with him. The son left her now, swearing to his mother: 'If it should be thus again, I burn her.'

In the next year she had a child. The Black Lady came in to her. 'What didst thou see through the window ?'

'I saw nothing. I will say nothing. Let me alone. I am tired of my life.'

She took the child and dashed him upon the hearthstone.

Presently the husband came to look for her. He came in; he saw no child there; he saw the blood on the stone.

'Thou didst kill the child, didst thou ?'

¹ *kī yōī*] In W. Rom., as in other dialects, prepositions govern either the prep. case or the nom., which, in this remarkable language, needs to have its scope enlarged; especially before pronouns *kī* governs the nom.

² *ō rat*] The W. Gyps. distinguish accurately between *ō rat*, masc. (= blood), and *ī rat*, fem. (= night).

³ *miná*] Etymologically 'me not'. This word has come to serve as the exact

Niserdās ō murs̃ χōinō.
'Vrī gyas tū kedās bārī yog te
χočerēl lā. Gyas arē ō tūn tū
rigerdās lā talē. Tā kana jūlas
te čivēl lā 'prē yog, ak'ī kālī
rānī 'vela.

P'wītās: 'Sō dikān arōl ī
χestyār?'

'Či na dikóm. Či na penáva.
Muk man konyō. K'inī šom
mī meribendstē.'

'Či' lā prē yog, χoč'ī rānī.

Sār 'viās poš ī yog, 'Ač!'
χoč'ī kālī rānī. 'An ī jūvél
pālē. Sō dikān arōl ī χestyār?'

'Či na dikóm. Či na penáva.
K'inī šom mī meribendstē.'

Dikās ī kālī rānī te ne pen-
elas¹ kek.

'Akē tī dūt tiknē. Tā kekar
na penáva mē čī tukī, nā na
dikésa² man kek-kómī.

Rom tu romnī jivēna
kiťanés,³ t'ō dūt tiknē jivēna
mīstō.

Kek-kómī! Kuškī rat tukī!

The man departed in anger. He went out and he made a great fire to burn her. He went into the place, and carried her down. When he was about to put her on the fire, lo! the Black Lady comes.

She asked: 'What didst thou see through the window?'

'I saw nothing. I will say nothing. Let me alone. I am tired of my life.'

'Put her on the fire,' said the Lady.

As she came near the fire, Stop!' said the Black Lady. Bring the woman back. What didst thou see through the window?'

'I saw nothing. I will say nothing. I am tired of my life.'

The Black Lady saw that she would not tell.

'Here are thy two children. And never again will I speak to thee, neither shalt thou see me more.'

The husband and wife live together, and the two children live happily.

There is no more! Good night to thee!

equivalent of the Germ. *nicht wahr*. The W. Gyps. in fact use it just as Welshmen use 'isn't it' when trying to speak English. (She is a fine girl, isn't it? We had a shocking time, isn't it?)

¹ *penelas*] imperfect indic. used as condit. pres.

² *dikésa*] In W. Rom. there is a fairly stable rule with regard to the use of the final -a in cases of this sort. For indic. pres. the use of *dikésa* or *dikés* is optional; but for indic. future the use of *dikésa*, and for subjunctive pres. the use of *dikés*, is obligatory.

³ *kiťanés*] for *kiťané* or *kelané*, lit. 'in one place'; the final *s* has crept in from analogy with the adverbial suffix.

V.—SUPPLEMENTARY ANNALS OF THE GYPSIES IN ENGLAND, BEFORE 1700

BY HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

IN the first volume of the *Gypsy Lore Society Journal*, pp. 5-24, will be found an article on the Early Annals of the Gypsies in England. Since its publication in 1889 a few additional items have been found, and a record of them may be of interest.

In December 1536 some Gipeyans received the king's pardon for a murder, with a proviso that if they did not avoid the king's realm by a certain date his grace's officers might hang them without trial; and on December 5, 1537, Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, wrote to my Lord of Chester 'to search for Egipecyans, and compel them to repair to the next port, to be conveyed upon the first wind into any part beyond the seas, and if they failed to comply, to see them executed without sparing upon any licence they might show.' These items are corroborated by a letter written in 1537 by Lord Cromwell that 'the King's Maiestie, about a twelf-month past, gave a pardonne to a company of lewde personnes within this realme calling themselves Gipecyans, for a most shamfull and detestable murder' (Ellis, *Original Letters*, series 1, vol. ii. p. 101).

About 1550 William Thomas translated Josafa Barbaro's *Travels to Tana* (which was written in 1487), and in speaking of a camp at Tana, Barbaro says: 'and if it shulde be demanded whether they go like the Egyptians or no? I answer No' (*Hakluyt Society*, 1873).

The Gypsies who were arrested in Dorsetshire in the summer of 1559, tried at Dorchester Assizes September 5, 1559, and acquitted and sent to Scotland as vagabonds (*G. L. Soc. Jour.*, i. 14-16), were re-arrested October 26, 1559, in Gloucestershire, and confined in Gloucester Castle. The Gloucester Corporation Records for 1559-60 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Twelfth Report*, Appendix, Part ix., p. 468) records payments for rods, and tying them to a cart and scourging them through the town (*G. L. Soc. Jour.*, iii. 58).

In 1561 the churchwardens of Stratton in Cornwall 'rec. of the Jpecyons for the church howse, iiijd.'

On October 8, 1562, in a libel in the Bishop of Chester's court, it was deposed that John ap John had 'bought a mare of the Egyptians about iij or iiij^{or} yeres ago' (*Early English Text Society*, No. 108, 'Child Marriages, etc.', p. 106).

On 17th August 1579 'John the sonne of Charles the Egptian' was baptized at Didsbury, six miles south of Manchester, and 'John the sonne of Charles Baptist, Egipitian,' was buried there next day (*Didsbury Parish Registers*, Lancashire Parish Register Soc.; *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 1900). Baptist was in early use as a Gypsy name. In 1540, at Aberdeen, Barbara Baptista, otherwise *Dya* (Mother) Baptista, was charged with 'wringous way-taking of xxiiij marks, money of Scotland, fra Andrew Chalmer in Westra Fyntra out of his kyst,' but she was 'maid quyt of the clame.' In 1549 Baptist Fawe was accused at Durham; and at the Devonshire Lent Assize in 1598, Charles Baptist, who was perhaps the same as the father mentioned in the Didsbury entries, with Oliver and Bartholomew Baptist, was charged with 'wandering like Egyptians.'

On March 4, 1586, at St. Mary Magdalene's, Launceston, co. Cornwall, 'Nicholas, sonne of James Bownia (Bunyan ?), an Egipitian rogue' was baptized (*Notes and Queries*, January 24, 1891, p. 67; *G. L. Soc. Jour.*, ii. 377).

In 1589 Nashe, in *Martin's Month's Minde*, p. 32, wrote: 'Hee . . . wandering . . . in the manner of a Gipson . . . was taken, and trust vp for a roge.'

In 1591 Spenser, in *Mother Hubbard*, p. 86, wrote: 'Or like a Gipsen or a Iuggeler.'

On October 30, 1607, George Leister, son of Nicholas, a gipsie, was baptized at Ormskirk, in the county of Lancaster (*Ormskirk Reg.*, Lanc. Par. Reg. Soc.).

On October 16, 1609, a boy of the Tinklers of Byers Green was buried at St. Andrews, Aukland, Northumberland (*Chronicon Mirabile*).

In 1609 Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candlelight* describes Moon-men 'by a by-name they are called Gipsies, they call themselves Egipcians, . . . commonly an army about foure-score strong' (*G. L. Soc. Jour.*, iii. 249).

On November 27, 1618, examinations were taken at Manchester before two justices, and one witness deposed that 'about St. Peeters daie last past (June 29) hee going towards Hepponstall faire in the Countie of Yorke did meete a companie of counterfeiet Egipcians, and that the person who now calleth himselfe by the name of William Waller was one of them, as he verilie thinketh.' William Waller, late of Newcastle upon Tyne, shoemaker, was examined, and confessed that he was born at Newcastle,

and that he 'travelled under the pretence of a counterfeit Egiptian by the space of one daie next before his apprehension' at Ashton under lyne in the Countie of Lancaster, and that there 'he met with his wife and child, and divers other strangers, who also travelled as counterfeit Egiptians' (*Manch. Quarter Sessions*, Lanc. and Chesh. Record Soc., vol. xlii. p. 70). The *Manchester Constable's Accounts* (vol. i. p. 57), between October 1618 and October 1619, record the payment of ijs. viijd. 'for whippinge of eight counterfeit Jipsies that were taken with a privie search'; and between October 1626 and October 1627 (*ibid.*, p. 185) ten pence were paid 'for a passe and whippinge of Josias Waller (*cf. supra*) and Mary his wife.'

On July 13, 1621, at Richmond Quarter Sessions, a Hardraw man, two of Cotterdale, two of Sedbuske, and one each from Thwaite, Newhouses, and Litherskew, were indicted for 'denying to aide and assist the Constable of Bainbrigg to arrest certain wandering Egiptians, troubling the countrie by filching and stealing' (*North Riding of Yorkshire Record Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 120).

In 1622 the Town Book of Lymington, Hants, recorded the gift of two shillings to the Egyptians (*Old Times Revisited*, 1879, p. 56).

On November 5, 1623, *The Spanish Gipse*y, by Middleton and Rowley, founded on *La Fuerza de la Sangre* and *La Gitanilla* of Cervantes, was first acted, according to Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, by the company of the Cockpit at Whitehall (*Athenæum*, March 26, 1898).

In 1643 Randolph in his poems asked: 'Is gipsisme quite repeal'd?'

On August 13, 1649, Edylm the tinker was buried at Lowestoft, Suffolk.

In 1656 the accounts of the Macclesfield Corporation (which have been lost) recorded a payment 'for goeing with tenn Egiptians to the higher end of Sutton,' a neighbouring village.

In 1664 Sir Matthew Hale left a Gypsy for execution at Bury St. Edmunds for fortune-telling.

At the Devonshire Midsummer Sessions, 1682, at Exeter, Richard, Thomas, and Peter Stanley were convicted of being dangerous rogues, and were sentenced to transportation, and Elizabeth Stanley was whipped and sent to her birthplace, at Northcard in Lincolnshire.

Between 1687 and 1690 Samuel Charles, a Nonconformist minister, preached sermons at Hull, co. York, in which he refers twice to Gypsies (*G. L. Soc. Jour.*, iii. 123).

In 1696 the Towcester Constables paid six pence for guarding a gipsie who had shot Benet Shairpe (Andrews, *Bygone Northamptonshire*).

The New English Dictionary contains many early quotations in tracing the history of the words 'Egyptian' (1514, Fitzherbert, *Justice of Peas*, 98b; 1609, Skene *Reg. Maj.* 179; 1697, *View of Penal Laws*, 310) and 'Gipsy.'

It is to be hoped that the members of the Society will not be backward in communicating to the Editor any other items with which they may be acquainted. By so doing they will render much service to those who study the early history of these interesting immigrants.

VI.—DIE GRUNDZÜGE DES ARMENISCH-ZIGEUNERISCHEN SPRACHBAUS

VON FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK

Vorbemerkung

DIE folgende Skizze beruht im wesentlichen auf meiner ausführlicheren Arbeit *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, einer Abhandlung, die schon vor zwei Jahren von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg zur Veröffentlichung in ihren Memoiren angenommen worden ist, die aber infolge ungünstiger Umstände wohl erst in einigen Monaten erscheinen wird. Neben dieser Arbeit habe ich dann auch noch meinen kurzen Aufsatz *Die Stellung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen im Kreise der verwandten Mundarten* (Halle a.d.S., Rud. Haupt, 1905) benutzt. Die folgende Skizze ist also die dritte Arbeit, die ich demselben Objekte angedeihen lasse, und dabei—wie schon angedeutet—keineswegs eine Ergänzung durch Zufuhr neuen Materials, sondern weiter nichts als eine Darlegung des Gleichen in neuer Form. 'Allein ein Anderes ist es, ein Gebäude errichten, ein Anderes, seine Gäste in den fertigen Bau einführen. Im ersteren Falle ist mir die Ordnung durch die Natur der Sache vorgezeichnet—im anderen Falle ist es meine Sache, auf welchem Wege ich die Besucher am schnellsten in den neuen Räumen heimisch zu machen gedenke. Eines aber ist dabei sicher: die Grundmauern und Kellergewölbe, mit denen der Bau begonnen, sind das Letzte, was ich ihnen zeigen werde,—und von den Balkengertüsten, jenen Hilfskonstruktionen, deren man auch auf geistigen Bauplätzen nicht entraten kann, bekommen sie nichts

mehr zu sehn.' Diese Worte, durch die Georg von der Gabelentz einen Teil der methodischen Abweichungen seiner Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Grammatik von seinem ausführlichen Lehrbuche rechtfertigt, darf ich vielleicht auch auf meinen Fall anwenden, so viel Verschiedenes auch dabei vorliegt. Bei meiner von der Akademie in St. Petersburg angenommenen Arbeit stand ich vor der Aufgabe, für die Darstellung einer durchaus verkannten Zigeunermundart ein Fundament zu schaffen, und dies gebot die Form der Untersuchung mit aller Schwerfälligkeit gelehrter Erörterungen und Erwägungen. Bei dem erwähnten kurzen Aufsätze lag dieser Zwang allerdings nicht mehr vor. Aber in demselben ist nur eine einzige der verschiedenen Fragen beantwortet worden, die sich an die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner knüpfen, und so ist denn in der Tat noch eines zu tun übrig geblieben: eine allgemeinverständliche, auf Gelehrsamkeit fusende, aber sie nicht zur Schau tragende Schilderung vorzunehmen, eine alles Unsichere und Fragwürdige ausschaltende, alles Gesicherte zusammendrängende Darstellung, in der die Grundzüge des armenisch-zigeunerischen Sprachbaus anschaulich klar zu Tage treten.

Ein Versuch einer derartigen gemeinverständlichen Charakteristik erheischt naturgemäss auch einen Ersatz fremdartiger Schriftzeichen durch vertrautere Buchstaben. So wird denn auch, dieser Forderung entsprechend, im Folgenden nur ein hier und da nach Bedarf modifiziertes lateinisches Alphabet in Anwendung gebracht werden, und zwar für die heranzuziehenden indischen Sprachen, d.h. in erster Linie für das Prakrit und Sanskrit, die im Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde (*Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*) gebrauchte Buchstabenumschrift, für alle anderen Idiome die für das Zigeunerische selbst gewählte Schreibung, über deren Wert die folgenden Tabellen und Beispiele hinreichende Auskunft geben werden.

1. LAUTE MIT MUNDÖFFNUNG BEI GESPERRTEM NASENWEG

stimmhafte.			stimmlose.
Vordergaumenvokale.	Mittelgaumenvokale.	Hintergaumenvokale.	
<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>	
		<i>ə</i>	

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1. LAUTE MIT MUNDÖFFNUNG BEI GESPÉRTEM NASENWEG

stimmhafte.			stimmlose.
Vordergaumenvokale.	Mittelgaumenvokale.	Hintergaumenvokale.	
i	a	u	h
e		o	
		ə	

2. LAUTE MIT MUNDVERSCHLUSS (VERSCHLUSSLAUTE)

mit Verschluss- bildung durch :	stimmhafte mit offenem Nasenweg.		stimmlose mit gesperrtem Nasenweg.	
	mit leisem Absatz (Lösungs- laute).		mit gehauchtem Absatz (Spreng- laute).	
	mit geringerer Luft- pressung.		mit grösserer Luft- pressung.	
die Ober- und Unterlippe,	<i>m</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p̣</i>
die Zungenspitze und die Alveolen,	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>
den hinteren Zungen- rücken und die Grenze zwischen dem harten und weichen Gaumen, .	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ḳ</i>

3. LAUTE MIT MUNDENGE (REIBELAUTE)

mit Engenbildung zwischen :	stimm- hafte.	stimm- lose.
der Unterlippe und den Oberzähnen,	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>
den Oberzähnen und der zu einer engen Rinne eingekerbten Zunge,	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>
den Oberzähnen und der etwas eingezogenen, sonst wie bei der Bildung von <i>j</i> gehobenen Zunge,	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>
dem mittleren Zungenrücken und der Mitte des harten Gaumens,	<i>j</i>	<i>ç</i>
dem hinteren Zungenrücken und dem weichen Gaumen,	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>x</i>
den Seitenrändern der Zunge und den Backen- zähnen,	<i>l</i>	
den Alveolen und dem vorderen Zungenrand, wobei die Spitze in Schwingungen versetzt wird,	<i>r</i>	

Zur Veranschaulichung folge je ein Beispiel eines annähernd gleichen Lauts aus dem Englischen oder, wo dies nicht angängig ist, aus einer anderen, bekannteren Sprache.

i=i in *give*, e=e in *let*, a=a in *father*, u=u in *full*, o=o in *soft*, ə=ao im gälischen *laogh*, h=h in *hot*, m=m in *man*, n=n in *no*, ŋ=ng in *song*, b=b im süddeutschen und mitteldeutschen *bei*, d=d im südd. u. mttld. *du*, g=g im südd. u. mttld. *Gott*, p=p im französischen *point*, t=t im franz. *tirer*, k=c im franz. *camp*, p̣=p in *pool*, ṭ=t in *tell*, ḳ=k in *keen*, v=v in *voice*, f=f in *fall*, z=s in *easy*, s=s in *soil*, ẓ=s in *pleasure*, š=sh in *sharp*, j=y in *yes*, ç=ch im deutschen *ich*, ʒ=g im nordeutschen *sagen*, im holländischen *gans*, =dh im irischen *a dhuine*, x=ch im deutschen *Nacht*, im irischen *loch*, l=l in *love*, r=r im italienischen *padre*.

Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner ist wie die Redeweise all ihrer Stammesgenossen indischen Ursprungs, d.h., die ältesten Bestandteile ihrer Mundart sind mehr oder weniger unvollkommene Nachbildungen von Formen eines einst in Indien gesprochenen Dialekts. Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner weist jedoch zwei Eigentümlichkeiten auf, von denen die eine sie zu einem grossen Teil der verwandten Mundarten, die andere sie zu diesen sämtlich—soweit sie eben bekannt geworden sind—in einen beachtenswerten Gegensatz bringt, die beide zusammen den grössten Teil dessen bilden, was ihr das eigenartige Gepräge verleiht.

Die erste Eigentümlichkeit ist die, dass nicht die ganze armenisch-zigeunerische Sprache durch ein den Sprechern unmerkliches Abweichen vom Vorbilde entstanden ist, dass vielmehr der grösste Teil den Versuch eines aus Indien ausgewanderten Stammes darstellt, in einem ihm von Haus aus fremden Volkstum aufzugehn, sich eine neue Sprache, die armenische, anzueignen. Während also beispielsweise die in Deutschland herumschweifenden Zigeuner ein zwar mit vielen fremden, auf den verschiedenen Rastplätzen ihrer langen Wanderschaft aufgegriffenen Bestandteilen durchsetztes, aber doch nach wie vor wesentlich indisches Idiom reden, alles Neuaufgenommene der altgewohnten Konstruktion anpassend, sprechen die in Armenien lebenden Stammesgenossen im grossen und ganzen die Sprache der Bevölkerung, in deren Mitte sie ihre neue Heimat gefunden haben. Ein reines Armenisch ist es allerdings nicht, was sie sich angeeignet haben. Ganz abgesehen von den an die Herkunft aus Indien erinnernden Wörtern und Wortbestandteilen, die sie in die neuerlernte Rede einmischen, stellt sich ihre Mundart auch durch die Beschränkung auf einen Teil der im Armenischen gebotenen Bildungsmittel

sowie durch eine eigentümliche Aenderung der Deklination als etwas dar, was bei aller Aehnlichkeit mit der armenischen Sprache doch etwas Besonderes, sonst nicht Vorkommendes ist.

Die zweite Eigentümlichkeit ist die, dass die ältesten Bestandteile des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen allerdings indischen Ursprungs sind, aber doch nicht auf den Dialekt weisen, auf den sämtliche anderen bisher bekannt gewordenen Zigeunermundarten deuten. Während diese bei aller Verschiedenheit in einzelnen Punkten doch fraglos eine von allen anderen neuindischen Sprachen sich merklich absondernde Gruppe zusammengehöriger Idiome bilden, deren Heimat aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in Nordwesten des indischen Sprachgebiets, am Hindukusch, in den Kafir- und Dardudistrikten zu suchen ist, weisen die indischen Bestandteile des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen unverkennbar deutlich auf einen Prakrit-Dialekt und zwar den sogenannten Apabhramśa. So könnte es also überhaupt in Frage gestellt werden, ob es erlaubt ist die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner mit den Mundarten der in anderen Ländern lebenden zusammen den anderen indischen Dialekten als etwas Besonderes gegenüberzustellen, und man wird in der Tat strengenommen nur von einer Volkseinheit trotz gestörtem engeren Sprachzusammenhang reden dürfen, nicht aber von einer besonders nahen Sprachverwandtschaft. Dieser ethnische Zusammenhang aber ergibt sich vor allem aus dem immer regen Bewusstsein des Zigeunertums, das sich in der vom europäisch-zigeunerischen *rom* nicht zu trennenden Selbstbenennung *lom* verkörpert und die einstige Einheit der beiden Parteien, von denen mindestens eine die ursprüngliche Sprache schon in Indien gegen einen anderen Dialekt eingetauscht haben muss, wenigstens nicht ganz dahinschwinden lässt.

Die erste dieser beiden Eigentümlichkeiten, die sich dem mit dem Neuarmenischen auch nur halbwegs Vertrauten schon bei der ersten, flüchtigen Beobachtung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen geradezu aufdrängt, bedarf keiner ausführlichen Darlegung. Jeder im folgenden anzuführende Satz, ja fast jede Form bestätigt die Behauptung. Nur das ist, wenn auch kurz, darzulegen, was dem im grossen und ganzen armenischen Charakter der hier zu behandelnden Mundart auch in grammatischer Hinsicht doch ein eigenartiges Ansehn verleiht. Dieses Besondere liegt in einer der drei Deklinationsarten, die zur Anwendung kommen. Die erste, der Beugung der Infinitive dienende und demgemäss auf den Singular

beschränkte Art ist die in diesen Fällen im Neuwestarmenischen übliche Deklination, das zu einem einheitlichen Typus verschmolzene Paradigma der alten *e/o*-und *eu/u*-Stämme, z.B.:

Nom. *anel*, 'bringen' (*an-* zu prkr. *ānei*=skr. *ānayati* mit arm. Endung)

Acc. *anel*

Gen. *anel-u*

Dat. *anel-u*

Instr. *anel-ov*

Abl. *anel-e, anel-u*

Die zweite Art ist die beim grössten Teil der neuwestarmenischen Substantiva angewandte Deklinationsweise, die im Singular den Typus der alten *ei/i*-Stämme darstellt, den Plural durch das Suffix *-er* bzw. *-ner* in Verbindung mit den Endungen der *e/o*- bzw. *eu/u*-Stämme bildet, z.B.:

Sing. Nom. *mantšav*, 'Fisch' (*mantš*=prkr. *maccho*=skr. *matsyah*)

Acc. *mantšav*

Gen. *mantšav-i*

Dat. *mantšav-i*

Instr. *mantšav-ov*

Abl. *mantšav-e*

Plur. Nom. *mantšav-ner*

Acc. *mantšav-ner*

Gen. *mantšav-ner-u*

Dat. *mantšav-ner-u*

Instr. *mantšav-ner-ov*

Abl. *mantšav-ner-e*

Von diesen beiden Deklinationsarten unterscheidet sich nun die dritte dadurch, dass bei ihr die zum Teil übrigens von den erwähnten Endungen abweichenden Suffixe nicht an den mit dem Stamm identischen Nominativ/Accusativ gefügt werden, sondern an eine Erweiterung desselben durch *-av*, wodurch also eine für einen Teil der Neuindischen charakteristische Deklination mit Hilfe eines Obliquus oder Formativ zustande kommt. So wird beispielsweise das Wort *hať* 'Hand'=prkr. *hattho*=skr. *hastah* folgendermassen dekliniert:

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	<i>hať</i>	<i>hať-av-tik</i>
Acc.	<i>hať</i>	<i>hať-av-tik</i>

	Sing.	Plur.
Gen.	<i>hat-av-i</i>	<i>hat-av-tots</i>
Dat.	<i>hat-av-i</i>	<i>hat-av-tots</i>
Instr.	<i>hat-av-ov</i>	(nicht belegt)
Abl.	<i>hat-av-e</i>	<i>hat-av-totsme</i>

Die zweite Eigentümlichkeit, der prakritische Ursprung der indischen Bestandteile des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen und insbesondere deren Zurückgehn auf den Apabhramśa-Dialekt ergibt sich, was ersteres anbetrifft, aus sämtlichen der etymologischen Deutung überhaupt zugänglichen Formen, was letzteres angeht, dagegen nur aus einigen, aber sicheren Beispielen. Es genügt jedoch vorläufig, auf nur zwei Wörter hinzuweisen, von denen das erste schon allein die Zugehörigkeit zum Prakrit überhaupt dartut, das zweite die Entstehung aus dem Apabhramśa insbesondere hinlänglich klarlegt. Diese Wörter sind *hat* 'Hand' und *hev* 'er, sie, es'.

Während das europäisch-zigeunerische *vast* wie auch das syrisch- und persisch-zigeunerische *xast* durch die Erhaltung der alten Lautgruppe *st* mehr an die Sanskritform *hastak* als an das entsprechende prakritische *hattho* gemahnt und damit auch auf die Hindukuschdialekte weist, in denen sich das *st* ebenfalls erhalten hat, auf Narisati *hōst*, Khauar *host*, Bušgali-Kafir *dust*, gehört das armenisch-zigeunerische *hat* ersichtlich zunächst zur Prakritform *hattho* und deren Entsprechungen in modernen Dialekten wie Pandžābi *hath*, Sindhi *hath*, Kashmiri *ath*, Naipāli *hāt*, Gudžarātī *hāth*, Bangālī *hāt hāth āt*, Assāmī *hāt āt*, Bihārī *hāth hāth*, Oriyā *hāta hāth*, Ost-Hindi *hāth hāth hāthawā*. Von allen Prakritdialekten, auf die ein Wort wie *hat* also deutet, weist nun allein der Apabhramśa eine Pronominalform auf, die dem armenisch-zigeunerischen *hev* 'er, sie, es' zugrunde gelegen haben kann, nämlich *ehu*, aus dem durch Vermittlung eines leicht erklärlichen *heu* die tatsächlich vorliegende Form erklärlich wird, während die anderen Dialekte nichts haben, was hierfür in Betracht kommen könnte. Vgl. Nom. Sing. Masc.: Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Śaurasenī, Śaurasenī, Avanti, Dākṣiṇātyā *eso*, Ardhamāgadhī *ese eso*, Māgadhī *eśe*, Dhakkī *esu*, Nom. Sing. Fem.: Śaurasenī, Paiśācī, Dākṣiṇātyā *esā*, Māgadhī *eśā*, Nom. Sing. Neutr.: Māhārāṣṭrī *eam*, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī *ejam*, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Āvanti, Dākṣiṇātyā *edam*.

Die lange Wanderschaft, die von den meisten europäischen Zigeunern vollführt worden ist, hat bekanntlich auch deren

jeweilige Mundart merklich beeinflusst, hat allerorten zur Aufnahme von neuen Ausdrücken Anlass gegeben, die uns von dem eingeschlagenen Wege Bericht erstatten. Die Mundart der armenischen Zigeuner hat derartiges nicht aufzuweisen, mag dies nun daran liegen, dass die von ihnen zurückgelegte Wegstrecke oder der bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten genommene Aufenthalt zu kurz war, oder daran, dass uns die Sprachen der Völker, denen sie auf ihrer Wanderschaft nahegetreten sind, nicht hinreichend bekannt sind. Auf jeden Fall lässt der der Deutung zugängliche Teil des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen nur zwei Schichten erkennen: einen Bestand an altem, aus Indien mitgebrachten Sprachgut und eine Verarbeitung desselben auf armenische Art Hand in Hand mit der Zufuhr neuer Wörter und Wortbestandteile der neuen Umgebung, vor allem armenischer, persischer und türkischer Ausdrücke. In welcher Reihenfolge aber dieses Lehngut aufgenommen worden ist, lässt sich wohl nicht feststellen, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist überhaupt nicht eine dieser Sprachen nach der anderen ausgebeutet worden, sondern von dem neuen Wohnsitze Armenien aus gleichzeitig aus allen drei Idiomen wie auch aus noch anderen, die erwähnt werden könnten, geschöpft worden.

Da die Kasus- und Personalsuffixe des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen der Sprache der neuen Heimat entlehnt sind und auch die stammbildenden Mittel bis auf eins wenigstens nicht indisch sind, so erscheint das älteste Sprachgut nur zum Teil in der Gestalt selbständig auftretender Wörter. Vielfach, so immer bei den Verben, ist nur das Grundelement indisch, was dann durch einen die später angefügte Endung abtrennenden Strich angedeutet werden soll.

Die Formen des Prakrits, die den ältesten Bestandteilen des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen als Vorbilder gedient haben, aus denen sie nach der herrschenden bildlichen Ausdrucksweise entstanden sind, haben nun abgesehn von der schon erwähnten Anfügung fremder Suffixe auch noch folgende lautliche Aenderungen erfahren:

Zunächst sind die auslautenden Vokale mehrsilbiger Nomina, von *i* *ī* *u* und *ū* abgesehn, geschwunden. So erscheint = prkr. *hattho* 'Hand' = skr. *hastah* als *hał*, prkr. *bāro* 'Tür' = skr. *dvārah* als *bar*, prkr. *kamma* 'Werk' = skr. *karma* als *kaṃ*, prkr. *devadā* 'Gott' = skr. *devatā* als *leval*, prkr. *dasa* 'zehn' = skr. *daśa* als *las*, prkr. *bhādā* 'Bruder' = skr. *bhrātā* als *pal*, prkr. *manuso* 'Mensch' = skr. *manuṣaḥ* als *manus*, prkr. *pantho* 'Weg' = skr. *panthaḥ* als *panł*,

prkr. *cattāro* 'vier' = skr. *catvāraḥ* als *tštar*, prkr. *camma* 'Fell' = skr. *carma* als *tšam*, dagegen prkr. *akkhi* 'Auge' = skr. *akṣi* als *akḥi*, prkr. *dui* 'zwei' = skr. *dve* als *lui*, prkr. *hi* 'ja, wahrlich' als *hi*, prkr. *bahū* 'viel' = skr. *bahuh* als *buhu*, prkr. *pāu* 'Fuss' = skr. *padam* als *pav* (mit nachherigem Uebergang der *u* in *v* wie bei dem schon erwähnten arm.-zig. *hev* 'er, sie, es' aus *heu ehu*), prkr. *aṇḍu* 'Ei, Hode,' das allerdings nicht belegt, aber nach dem skr. *aṇḍam* für den Apabhraṃśa-Dialekt vorausgesetzt werden darf, als *anlu* u.s.w. Allerdings weist das Armenisch-Zigeunerische nicht in allen Fällen, wo im Apabhraṃśa ein Neutrum auf *u* vorliegt oder doch angesetzt werden darf, diesen Auslaut auch auf. So erscheint apbhr. *jujḡhu* 'Kampf' = skr. *yuddham* (durch Vermittlung eines nicht belegten *yudhyam*) nicht als *džudžu*, sondern als *džudž*, apbhr. *dudhu* 'Milch' = skr. *dugdham* nicht als *lufu*, sondern als *luf*, apbhr. *gharu* 'Haus' = skr. *grāham* nicht als *karu*, sondern als *kar*, apbhr. *sīsu* 'Kopf' = skr. *śiṛṣam* nicht als *sīsu*, sondern als *sis*, apbhr. *tellu* 'Oel' = skr. *tailam* nicht als *telu*, sondern als *tel*, apbhr. *loṇu* 'Salz' = skr. *lavaṇam* nicht als *lonu*, sondern (mit Lautversetzung) als *nol*, u.s.w. Derartige Beispiele widerlegen aber noch nicht die Behauptung, dass auslautendes *u* sich erhalten habe. Man wird vielmehr annehmen dürfen, dass Apabhraṃśa-Formen wie *jujḡhu*, *dudhu*, *gharu*, *sīsu*, *tellu*, *loṇu*, u.s.w. unter der Einwirkung der zahlreichen Masculina auf *o* zunächst durch die Bildungen *jujḡho*, *dudho*, *gharo*, *sīso*, *tello*, *loṇō*, u.s.w. ersetzt worden sind und dann den auslautenden Vokal regelrecht eingebüsst haben. Die Apabhraṃśatexte zeigen freilich im schroffen Gegensatze zu dieser Annahme gerade einen weitgehenden Ersatz des auslautenden *o* durch *u*. Es dürfte aber doch kaum möglich sein, die verschiedene Behandlung des auslautenden *u* auf eine andere Art befriedigend zu erklären, und hinsichtlich der Apabhraṃśatexte darf nicht vergessen werden, dass dieselben doch entschieden nur einen kleinen Ausschnitt aus der vielleicht nicht geringen Zahl von Dialekten darstellen, die der gleiche Name, eine wahre Einheit nur vortäuschend, zusammenfasst. Und es dürfte nicht gerade Wunder nehmen, wenn die Mundart, die einst von den später nach Armenien ausgewanderten Zigeunern gesprochen wurde, am wenigsten beachtet worden wäre.

Doch ein anderer Punkt ist noch kurz zu berühren. Für die aufgestellte Behauptung, das lange *i* habe sich im Auslaut ebenfalls erhalten, fehlt jeder Beleg. Man wird aber trotzdem die Richtigkeit dieser Angabe bis auf weiteres annehmen dürfen,

da die Unterschiede der Quantität der Vokale im Armenisch-Zigeunerischen verwischt sind, diese Beseitigung ursprünglicher Verschiedenheiten in der Lautdauer aber im Hinblick auf manche sie anbahnende Vorgänge in den Prakritsprachen schon ziemlich früh erfolgt zu sein scheint, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach vor dem Abfall der Endvokale, so dass also die Beispiele für den Schwund des kurzen *i* auch den des langen dazunehmen würden. Sollte der Zusammenfall der alten Länge und Kürze, aber auch aus jüngerer Zeit stammen oder vielleicht derselben Periode angehören, so würde doch die gleiche Behandlung von *u* und *ū* auch entsprechendes für *i* und *ī* wenigstens vermuten lassen.

Die Aufhebung oder Quantitätsunterschiede beim Vokalismus ist die wichtigste der Aenderungen, die dieser erfahren hat, während beim Konsonantismus ausser einer entsprechenden Verringerung des Bestandes auch noch ein durchgreifender Zusammenfall von Lauten zu verzeichnen ist, die sich bei gleicher oder doch fast gleicher Artikulationsstelle durch die Artikulationsart unterschieden. Als normale Vertretung erscheint nun folgende:

prkr.	arm.-zig.
<i>a</i> und <i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>i</i> und <i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>u</i> und <i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>k</i> und <i>kk</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>kkh</i> , <i>kh</i> (aus skr. <i>ks</i> oder <i>kr</i>) und <i>gh</i>	<i>k̥</i>
<i>kh</i> (aus skr. <i>kh</i>)	<i>x</i>
<i>g</i> und <i>gg</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>tʃ</i>
<i>ch</i> und <i>cch</i>	<i>tʃ</i>
<i>j</i> , <i>jj</i> und <i>jjh</i>	<i>dʒ</i>
<i>ʃh</i> , <i>th</i> , <i>tth</i> und <i>dh</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>r</i> oder <i>l</i>
<i>ḍḍ</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>t</i> und <i>tt</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>d</i> , <i>l</i> und <i>ll</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>n</i> , <i>n</i> und <i>nd</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i> und <i>pp</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>bh</i>	<i>p̣</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>

prkr.	arm.-zig.
<i>m, mb und mm</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>r oder l</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>

Vgl. prkr. *bandh-ai* 'bindet' (=skr. *badhnāti*) mit arm.-zig. *bant-e* prkr. *bāro* 'Tür' (=skr. *dvārah*) mit arm.-zig. *bar*, prkr. *pi-ai* 'trinkt' (=skr. *pibati*) mit arm.-zig. *pi-e*, prkr. vorauszusetzendes *sīso* 'Kopf' für *sīsu* (=skr. *śīrṣam*) mit arm.-zig. *sis*, prkr. *churiā* 'Messer' (=skr. *kṣurikā*) mit arm.-zig. *ṭšuri*, prkr. *bahū* 'viel' (=skr. *bahu*) mit arm.-zig. *buhu* (dessen erstes *u* wahrscheinlich durch die Nachbarschaft des *b* veranlasst worden ist), prkr. *dekkh-ai* 'sieht' (=skr. *dr̥kṣati*) mit arm.-zig. *lek-e*, prkr. *rov-ai*, 'weint, klagt' (für skr. *ruvati*, *ravati*, *rauti*) mit arm.-zig. *rov-e*, prkr. *kar-ai* 'macht' (für skr. *karoti*, *kṛṇoti*) mit arm.-zig. *kar-e*, prkr. *ekko* 'ein' (=skr. *ekaḥ*) mit arm.-zig. *ak* (dessen *a* statt des zu erwartenden *e* vielleicht mit dem häufigen proklitischen Gebrauch des Wortes zusammenhängt), prkr. *akkhi* 'Auge' (=skr. *akṣi*) mit arm.-zig. *ak-i*, prkr. *khiv-ai* 'schleudert' (=skr. *kṣipati*) mit arm.-zig. *ḥav-e* (mit *a* statt des zu erwartenden *i* infolge der Stellung unmittelbar vor der Silbe mit dem Hauptnachdruck), prkr. *khedd-ai*, *khell-ai* 'spielt' (=skr. *krīḍati*, *krīḷati*) mit arm.-zig. *kel-e*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *gharo* 'Haus' für *gharu* (=skr. *gr̥ham*) mit arm.-zig. *kar*, prkr. *khā-i*, *khā-ai* 'isst' (=skr. *khādati*) mit arm.-zig. *xa-l-e* (dessen wurzelerweiterndes *l* sich meiner Deutung entzieht), vorauszusetzendes prkr. *gīdo* 'Lied' für *gīdu* (=skr. *gītām*) mit arm.-zig. *gil-av* (dessen *-av* wohl mit dem bei Besprechung der Deklination erwähnten Suffix identisch ist), prkr. *magg-ai* 'fordert' (=skr. *mārgati*) mit arm.-zig. *mag-e* (dessen *ṇ* ein jüngerer Einschub wie bei *mandž* 'Mitte, Taille' aus vorauszusetzendem prkr. *majjho* für *majjhu*=skr. *madhyam*, *manṭṣ-av* 'Fisch' aus prkr. *maccho*=skr. *matsyaḥ* und anderen Wörtern ist), prkr. *camma* 'Fell' (=skr. *carma*) mit arm.-zig. *tšam*, prkr. *churiā* 'Messer' (=skr. *kṣurikā*) mit arm.-zig. *ṭšuri*, prkr. *pucch-ai* 'fragt' (=skr. *pr̥cchati*) mit arm.-zig. *puṭš-av-e* (dessen *-av-* vielleicht nach dem Muster von Denominativen wie *lav-av-el* 'brennen' zu skr. *dāvaḥ* 'Brand' angefügt worden ist), prkr. *jaṇ-ai*, *jaṇ-ei* 'er weiss' (=skr. *jānāti*) mit arm.-zig. *džan-e*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *lajj-ai* (=skr. *lajjate*) 'schämt sich' mit

arm.-zig. *ladž-e*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *jujḡho* 'Kampf' für *jujḡhu* (aus vorauszusetzendem skr. *yudhyam* für *yuddham*) mit arm.-zig. *džudž*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *ṭheno* 'Platz' für *ṭhānu* = skr. *sthānam* (zum Ersatz des *ā* durch *e* vgl. R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, § 112) mit arm.-zig. *ten-av*, prkr. *pantho* 'Weg' (zu skr. *panthāḥ*) mit arm.-zig. *panł*, prkr. *hattho* 'Hand' (= skr. *hastah*) mit arm.-zig. *hał*, prkr. *dhā-i*, *dhā-aṣ* 'stellt, legt' (= skr. *dhāti*, *dhāyati*) mit arm.-zig. *ta-v-e*, (dessen *v* wie beim europäisch-zigeunerischen *to-v-ela* als Uebergangslaut aufzufassen ist), prkr. *paḍ-aṣ* 'füllt' (= skr. *patati*) mit arm.-zig. *par-e*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *ḍomo* (= skr. *ḍomaḥ* 'ein Mann niedriger Kaste, der sich mit Gesang und Musik abgibt') mit arm.-zig. *lom*, prkr. *kheḍḍ-aṣ* 'spielt, tanzt' (= skr. *kṛīḍati*) mit arm.-zig. *kel-e*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *tresūlo* für gleichfalls unbelegtes, aber nach dem skr. *triśūlam* 'Dreizack' anzunehmendes *tesūlu* mit arm.-zig. *tresul* 'Kirche, Geistlicher,' dessen Bedeutung durch die mit dem europäisch-zigeunerischen *trušul* verbundene Vorstellung 'Kreuz' vermittelt wird, prkr. *sutto* 'Schlaf' (= skr. *suptah*) mit arm.-zig. *sut-av*, prkr. *dui* 'zwei' (= skr. *dve*) mit arm.-zig. *lui*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *loṇo* 'Salz' für *loṇu* (= skr. *lavanam*) mit arm.-zig. *nol* (aus *lon*, das im Europäisch-Zigeunerischen vorliegt), vorauszusetzendes prkr. *mollo* 'Preis, Wert' für *mollu* (= skr. *mūlyam*) mit arm.-zig. *mol*, prkr. *āṇ-ei* 'bringt' (= skr. *ānayati*) mit arm.-zig. *an-e*, prkr. *bandh-aṣ* 'bindet' (= skr. *badhnāti*) mit arm.-zig. *banł-e*, prkr. *chind-aṣ* 'schneidet' (für skr. *chinatti*) mit arm.-zig. *łšin-e*, prkr. *pāu* 'Fuss' (= skr. *padam*) mit arm.-zig. *pav*, prkr. *bappo* 'Vater' mit arm.-zig. *bap*, prkr. *bhādā* 'Bruder' (= skr. *bhrātā*) mit arm.-zig. *pal*, prkr. *bīh-aṣ*, *bīh-ei* (= vorauszusetzendem skr. *bhīṣati*) oder *bīh-ei* (= skr. *bibheti*) 'fürchtet sich' mit arm.-zig. *bi-e*, prkr. *manuso* 'Mensch' (= skr. *manuṣaḥ*) mit arm.-zig. *manus*, prkr. *cumb-aṣ* 'küsst' (= skr. *cumbati*) mit arm.-zig. *łsum-e*, prkr. *kamma* 'Werk' (= skr. *karma*) mit arm.-zig. *kam*, vorauszusetzendes prkr. *randh-aṣ* 'kocht' (zu skr. *randhanam* 'Kochen, Garmachen') mit arm.-zig. *erant-e* (dessen *ə* wie im Armenischen zur Vermeidung eines anlautenden *r* dient), vorauszusetzendes prkr. *khīro* 'Milch' für *khīru* (= skr. *kṣīram*) mit arm.-zig. *kol* (dessen *ə* für das zu erwartende *i* sich wohl durch den Einfluss der Ableitungen *kol-ar* 'Käse' und *kol-avot* 'dick, fett' erklärt, bei denen der Ersatz des *i* als Folge der Stellung unmittelbar vor dem Hauptton gedeutet werden kann), prkr. *āv-aṣ* 'kommt' (= skr. *āyāti*) mit arm.-zig. *av-e*,

prkr. *sāvo* 'all, ganz' (=skr. *sarvaḥ*) mit arm.-zig *sav*, prkr. *ehu* 'es' (aus vorauszusetzendem skr. *eṣam*) mit arm.-zig. *hev* (mit Lautumstellung).

Die Zahl der Beispiele, die den hier gemachten Angaben über die regelmässige Lautvertretung nicht entspricht, ist verhältnismässig klein. Bei manchen erklärt sich die Abweichung leicht durch die besondere Stellung des in Betracht kommenden Lauts, wie beispielsweise das Auftreten eines *g* statt des zu erwartenden *k* in dem Worte *vəgn-e* 'verkauft' zu prkr. *vikkin-aī* wohl auf der Nachbarschaft des *ṇ* beruht. In anderen Fällen wird die Abweichung wohl darauf beruhen, dass andere als die bekannten Prakritformen als Muster gedient haben. So ist beispielsweise das arm.-zig. *buhu* 'viel' wohl nicht auf die bekannte Prakritform *bahū* zurückzuführen, sondern auf ein nur zufällig nicht überliefertes *buhū*, da ja *a* im Prakrit in der Nachbarschaft von Labialen nicht selten zu *u* wird. Vgl. R. Pischel, Gramm. d. Prakrit-Sprachen, § 104.

Dieses ältere, aus Indien mitgebrachte Sprachgut hat nun in jüngerer Zeit eine allem Anschein nach beträchtliche Vermehrung erfahren. Eine genaue Berechnung ist jedoch leider nicht möglich, da ein grosser Teil der heute von den armenischen Zigeunern gebrauchten Ausdrücke einer sicheren etymologischen Deutung widerstrebt, ein Uebelstand, der vielleicht im Laufe der Zeit durch bessere Hilfsmittel beseitigt werden mag, vor der Hand aber auch von dem Erfahrensten wohl höchstens in geringem Grade beschränkt werden könnte. Unter den Wörtern, deren Herkunft mit annähernder Sicherheit festgestellt werden kann, befindet sich, wie man erwarten muss, verhältnismässig viel armenisches, türkisches und persisches Sprachgut. Wo ein arabisches Wort vorliegt, ist es ziemlich bestimmt durch eine der drei genannten Sprachen vermittelt worden. Nur ganz vereinzelt lassen sich Entlehnungen aus anderen Idiomen nachweisen oder wenigstens wahrscheinlich machen. So ist das Wort *kəraš* 'Wein' wohl eine Einstellung des griechischen *krasi*, und *fenam* 'ich werde' wird wohl mit dem ossetischen *fäun* zusammenhängen, vielleicht aber auch mit dem griechischen *phainomai* oder auch mit allen beiden. Aber das ist auch alles, was sich auf diese Sprachen zurückführen liesse. Nur das Kurdische, das sich nicht in allen Fällen reinlich vom Persischen scheiden lässt, hat vielleicht etwas mehr beigesteuert, als man bei flüchtiger Beobachtung anzunehmen geneigt sein wird.

Hand in Hand mit dieser Vermehrung des alten Wortbestands

durch die Entlehnung aus den genannten Sprachen, vielleicht auch schon früher, ist dann auch wohl die Annahme der stamm- und wortbildenden Mittel erfolgt, die den ursprünglich rein indischen Dialekt zu der besonderen Mischsprache gestempelt haben, die man eben nur als armenisch-zigeunerisch bezeichnen kann. Allerdings entstammen die stammbildenden Elemente wohl nicht ausnahmslos dem Armenischen. Eines, das schon mehrfach erwähnte Suffix *-av*, ist wahrscheinlich indischen Ursprungs, einem älteren *-aka* an die Seite zu stellen, und zwei Suffixe, *-laz*, und *xi* bzw. *xə*, sind vielleicht iranischer Herkunft. Alles andere ist dagegen fraglos armenisch. Die erste Rolle spielen unter den dieser Sprache entnommenen stammbildenden Mitteln die Suffixe, und zwar das Kausativsuffix *-tsən* sowie die Nominalsuffixe *oz*, *itš*, *itšk*, *-iš*, *-išk*, *ik*, *-ot*, *-ak*, *-ik*, *tsi*, *-tsu*, *-nols*, *-uliun* (*-ulen*) und *-ren*. Erst in zweiter Linie kommt die Zusammensetzung in Betracht, und nur durch ein einziges Wort wird die Wiederholung mit gleichzeitigem Ersatz des anlautenden Konsonanten durch *m* belegt, ein Stammbildungsmittel, das allerdings keineswegs auf das Armenische beschränkt ist, sondern wohl in demselben Umfange in den benachbarten Sprachen wie dem Türkischen, Persischen und Georgischen verwandt wird, das aber in Anbetracht des alles überwiegenden Einflusses der armenischen Sprache im vorliegenden Beispiel doch unbedenklich als eine Entlehnung aus dieser aufgefasst werden darf. Zur Klarlegung dieser Stammbildungsmittel wird je ein Beispiel genügen. Vgl. arm.-zig. *bietsənel* 'erschrecken, Furcht einflößen' zu *biel* 'sich fürchten' wie arm. *vaxetsənel* zu *vaxenal*, arm.-zig. *xatoz* 'Esser, Maus' zu *xatel* 'essen' wie arm. *utoz* zu *utel*, arm.-zig. *bantitš* 'Strick, Band, Knopf' zu *bantel* 'binden' wie arm. *gəritš* 'Schreibfeder' zu *gərel* 'schreiben', arm.-zig. *piitšk* 'Rauchtabak' (neben *piitš*, *piiš* und *piišk*) zu *piel* 'trinken' wie arm. *xəmitšk* 'Getränk' zu *xəmel* 'trinken', arm.-zig. *piiš* und *piišk* 'Rauchtabak' als Nebenformen zu denen auf *itš* und *-itšk*, arm.-zig. *xateliik* 'Speise' zu *xatel* 'essen' wie arm. *uteliik* zu *utel*, arm.-zig. *paniot* 'wässrig' zu *pani* 'Wasser' wie arm. *ariunot* 'blutig' zu *ariun* 'Blut', arm.-zig. *džunak* 'Kind' zu einem nicht belegten *džunu* (= prkr. *jovvanu*, = skr. *yauvanam*) wie arm. *tənak* 'Häuschen' zu *tun* 'Haus', arm.-zig. *kašik* 'Leibbinde' zu einer nicht belegten Ableitung von arm. *kašel* 'ziehen' wie arm. *hairik* 'Väterchen' zu *hair* 'Vater', arm.-zig. *keravtsi* 'Städter' zu *kerav* 'Stadt' wie arm. *giuzatsi* 'Dorfbewohner' zu *giuz* 'Dorf', arm.-zig. *garmavtsu* 'Suppenzubehör'

zu *garm* 'Suppe' wie arm. *apuratsu* zu *apur*, arm.-zig. *džarivavnots* 'Bordell' zu *džari* 'Dirne, Hure' wie arm. *hiuranots* 'Gasthaus' zu *hiur* 'Gast,' arm.-zig. *xasavuten* 'Scham' zu *xasavel* 'beschämen,' *xasavot* 'schamhaft, keusch' wie arm. *amotxatsufiun* zu *amotxats*, arm.-zig. *lomavren* 'zigeunerisch' zu *lom* 'Zigeuner' wie arm. *haieren*, 'armenisch' zu *hai* 'Armenier.' Bei den Zusammensetzungen zeigen sich keinerlei dem jeweilig vorliegenden Abhängigkeitsverhältnis etwa entsprechende Formunterschiede, es sei denn, dass Unterschiede der Betonung, die aus den Aufzeichnungen nicht ersichtlich sind, vielleicht in Betracht kämen, dass also etwa ein Kompositum wie *luiak* 'drei' (d.h. *lui* 'zwei' + *ak* 'ein') eine andere Nachdrucksverteilung aufwiese als *manusxatoz* 'Menschenfresser' (aus *manus* und *xatoz*). Entscheiden lässt es sich auf Grund der vorliegenden Angaben jedenfalls nicht.

Das vereinzelt dastehende Beispiel für eine Ableitung durch Wiederholung mit Ersatz des anlautenden Konsonanten durch *m* ist *xel-mel-av* 'dumm, töricht' zu arm. *xelk* 'Verstand,' also eine Bildung nach Art des türk. *et met* 'Fleisch und dergleichen' des georgischen *xili mili* 'Früchte und dergleichen, Obst,' des armenischen *asez masez* 'Nadeln und dergleichen, Nähzeug,' u.s.w. Der Ausdruck *xelmelav* unterscheidet sich aber von diesen und anderen Beispielen, die sich leicht anführen liessen, durch den bei derartigen Bildungen nicht üblichen Antritt eines Suffixes, und dieser Umstand weist wohl darauf hin, dass die in den genannten Sprachen sozusagen in allen Fällen mögliche, der jeweiligen Laune des Sprechers anheimgestellte Umgestaltung eines bestehenden Worts durch Wiederholung und Ersatz des anlautenden Konsonanten doch nicht eigentlich ins Armenisch-Zigeunerische eingedrungen ist, dass vielmehr ein armenisches *xel mel* als ein fertiges, hinsichtlich seiner Zusammensetzung und eigentlichen Bedeutung vielleicht gar nicht verstandenes Gebilde übernommen worden und mit der geläufigen Endung versehen worden ist.

Die Deklination und Konjugation des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen hat, wie schon gesagt, von der besprochenen Verwendung des Suffixes *-av* abgesehen, alles verloren, was der Sprache der neuen Heimat gegenüber als eine Besonderheit gelten könnte. Da die Nominaldeklination bereits besprochen ist, bedarf es nur noch einer kurzen ergänzenden Angabe hinsichtlich der Pronomina sowie einer Zusammenstellung der Verbalformen. Die normale Pronominaldeklination ergibt sich aus folgender Tabelle in der

die nicht belegten, aber mit ziemlicher Sicherheit anzusetzenden Formen durch Klammern gekennzeichnet werden.

Nom. <i>merav-əs</i> , 'ich'	<i>terav-əd</i> , 'du'	<i>hev-ə</i> , 'er, sie, es'
Acc. <i>merav-əs</i>	<i>terav-əd</i>	<i>hev-ə</i>
Gen. <i>merav-i-s</i>	<i>terav-i-d</i>	<i>hev-av-i-n</i>
Dat. <i>merav-i-s</i>	<i>terav-i-d</i>	<i>hev-av-i-n</i>
Instr. (<i>merav-ov</i>)	(<i>terav-ov</i>)	(<i>hev-av-ov</i>)
Abl. <i>merav-e-s</i>	<i>terav-e-d</i>	<i>hev-av-e-n</i>
Nom. <i>merav-tonk-əs</i> , 'wir'	<i>terav-tonk-əd</i> , 'ihr'	<i>hev-av-tonk-ə</i> , 'sie'
Acc. <i>merav-tonk-əs</i>	<i>terav-tonk-əd</i>	<i>hev-av-tonk-ə</i>
Gen. <i>merav-tonts-əs</i>	<i>terav-tonts-əd</i>	<i>hev-av-tonts-ə</i>
Dat. <i>merav-tonts-əs</i>	<i>terav-tonts-əd</i>	<i>hev-av-tonts-ə</i>
Instr. (<i>merav-tonts-mov-əs</i>)	(<i>terav-tonts-mov-əd</i>)	(<i>hev-av-tonts-mov-ə</i>)
Abl. (<i>merav-tonts-me-s</i>)	(<i>terav-tonts-me-d</i>)	(<i>hev-av-tonts-me-n</i>)

Die Endungen *-əs* (nach einem Vokal *-s*), *-əd* (nach einem Vokal *-d*) und *-ə* (nach einem Vokal *-n*) sind die armenischen Demonstrativsuffixe mit der Bedeutung 'hier, ich, mein' bzw. 'da du, dein' bzw. dort, er (sie, es), sein (ihr), die bei den angeführten Pronominalformen insofern von ausschlaggebendem Werte sind, als sie ohne Rücksicht auf den vorausgehenden Stamm die Person bestimmen. So kann also neben *merav-əs* 'ich' auch *terav-əs* und *hev-əs* mit gleicher Bedeutung gebraucht werden, neben *terav-əd* 'du' auch *merav-əd* und *hev-əd* u.s.w.

Zur Veranschaulichung der Konjugation mögen folgende Paradigmata dienen, bei denen von den einmal gewählten Verben auch die nicht belegten Formen nach dem Muster anderer angeführt, überhaupt unbelegte aber durch Klammern gekennzeichnet werden.

ACTIVUM

INFINITIVUS

kar-e-l, 'machen' *mul-i-l*, 'sterben' *f-ena-l*, 'werden'

INDICATIVUS PRAESENTIS

Sg. 1. <i>gə karem</i>	<i>gə mulim</i>	<i>gə fenam</i>
2. <i>gə kares</i>	<i>gə mulis</i>	<i>gə fenas</i>
3. <i>gə kare</i>	<i>gə muli</i>	<i>gə fena</i>
Pl. 1. <i>gə kareḡk</i>	<i>gə mulipḡk</i>	(<i>gə fenapḡk</i>)
2. <i>gə kareḡ</i>	<i>gə mulikḡ</i>	(<i>gə fenakḡ</i>)
3. <i>gə karen</i>	<i>gə mulin</i>	(<i>gə fenan</i>)

Dazu ist zu bemerken, dass die Partikel *gə* (od. *gu*) dem Verb auch folgen kann und nicht selten auch doppelt, und zwar vor- und nachgesetzt wird, also statt *gə karem* auch *karem gə* oder *gə karem gə* und so für alle anderen Personen.

INDICATIVUS IMPERFECTI

Sg. 1. <i>gə karei</i>	<i>gə mulei</i>	<i>gə fenaji</i>
2. <i>gə kareir</i>	<i>gə muleir</i>	<i>gə fenajir</i>
3. <i>gə karer</i>	<i>gə muler</i>	<i>gə fenar</i>
Pl. 1. (<i>gə kareipk</i>)	(<i>gə muleipk</i>)	(<i>gə fenajipk</i>)
2. (<i>gə kareik</i>)	(<i>gə muleik</i>)	(<i>gə fenajik</i>)
3. <i>gə karein</i>	<i>gə mulein</i>	<i>gə fenajin</i>

INDICATIVUS AORISTI

Sg. 1. <i>karetsi</i>	<i>muletsa</i>	<i>fetsa</i>	(<i>bietsulsi</i>) vom Kausativ <i>bietsənel</i> 'erschrecken.'
2. <i>karetsir</i>	<i>muletsar</i>	<i>fetsar</i>	(<i>bietsulsir</i>)
3. <i>karets</i>	<i>muletsav</i>	<i>fetsav</i>	(<i>bietsuls</i>)
Pl. 1. <i>karetsipk</i>	(<i>muletsapk</i>)	(<i>fetsapk</i>)	(<i>bietsutsipk</i>)
2. <i>karetsək</i>	(<i>muletsək</i>)	(<i>fetsək</i>)	(<i>bietsutsek</i>)
3. <i>karetsin</i>	(<i>muletsan</i>)	(<i>fetsan</i>)	(<i>bietsutsin</i>)

INDICATIVUS FUTURI

Sg. 1. <i>bidi karem</i>	<i>bidi mulim</i>	<i>bidi fenam</i>	
2. <i>bidi kares</i>	<i>bidi mulis</i>	<i>bidi fenas</i> , u.s.w., d.h. = Ind.	
Praes. mit vorgestelltem <i>bidi</i> 'notwendig.'			

CONDITIONALIS

Sg. 1. (<i>bidi karei</i>)	(<i>bidi mulei</i>)	(<i>bidi fenaji</i>), u.s.w., d.h. = Ind.	
Imperf. mit vorgestelltem <i>bidi</i> 'notwendig.'			

CONJUNCTIVUS PRAESENTIS

Sg. 1. (<i>karem</i>)	(<i>mulim</i>)	<i>fenam</i> , u.s.w., d.h. = Ind. Praes.	
ohne <i>gə</i> .			

IMPERATIVUS

Sg. 2. <i>kare</i>	<i>mule</i>	<i>fetsir</i>	(<i>bietsur</i>)
Pl. 2. <i>karetsək</i>	<i>muletsək</i>	(<i>fetsək</i>)	<i>bietsutsek</i>

PROHIBITIVUS

Sg. 2. <i>ma karer</i>	<i>ma mulir</i>	(<i>ma fenar</i>)	
Pl. 2. (<i>ma karek</i>)	(<i>ma mulik</i>)	(<i>ma fenak</i>)	

INDICATIVUS PERFECTI

(Participium auf -er mit dem Ind. Praes. des Verbum substantivum)

Sg. 1.	<i>karer em</i>	<i>muler em</i>	<i>fetser em</i>
2.	<i>karer es</i>	<i>muler es</i>	<i>fetser es</i>
3.	<i>karer e</i>	<i>muler e</i>	<i>fetser e</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>karer epk</i>	<i>muler epk</i>	<i>fetser epk</i>
2.	<i>karer ek</i>	<i>muler ek</i>	<i>fetser ek</i>
3.	<i>karer en</i>	<i>muler en</i>	<i>fetser en</i>

INDICATIVUS PLUSQUAMPERFECTI

(Participium auf -er mit dem Ind. Imperf. des Verbum substantivum)

Sg. 1.	<i>karer ei</i>	<i>muler ei</i>	<i>fetser ei</i>
2.	<i>karer eir</i>	<i>muler eir</i>	<i>fetser eir</i>
3.	<i>karer er</i>	<i>muler er</i>	<i>fetser er</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>karer eipk</i>	<i>muler eipk</i>	<i>fetser eipk</i>
2.	<i>karer eik</i>	<i>muler eik</i>	<i>fetser eik</i>
3.	<i>karer ein</i>	<i>muler ein</i>	<i>fetser ein</i>

PASSIVUM

INDICATIVUS PRAESENTIS

Participium auf -ats mit dem Ind. Praes. des Verbum substantivum, also *karats em*, 'ich werde gemacht,' *karats es*, 'du wirst gemacht,' u.s.w.

INDICATIVUS PRAETERITI

Participium auf -ats mit dem Ind. Imperf. des Verbum substantivum, also *karats ei*, 'ich wurde gemacht,' etc.

Diese Angaben werden zur Einführung in den folgenden Märentext genügen, der, mit einer Interlinearversion und einer freieren Uebersetzung versehen, ein anschaulicheres Bild der armenisch-zigeunerischen Sprache liefern wird, als die zerstückelnde Beschreibung von Einzelheiten es zu tun vermag.

<i>Vorov</i>	<i>manusavi-n</i>	<i>ak-a</i>	<i>lui-ak</i>	<i>innav</i>	<i>gu</i>
Gross	Mannes-dort	ein-dort	zwei-einen	Sohn	
<i>tarena.</i>	<i>bap-a</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>pakre</i>	<i>innəvtols-a</i> :	<i>'mulele-s</i>
hat	Vater-dort	sagt	Söhnen-dort	vom	Sterben-hier

Ein alter Mann hat drei Söhne. Der Vater sagt zu seinen Söhnen: 'Nach meinem Tode bewachst du mich eine Nacht, eine

hem gaçen aratujn mə terav-əd lekes gu
 zurück Zeit Nacht eine du (eigentl. dein-da) siehst
meravi-s ulšarelu, aratujn mə akklarav innav-əs, aratujn
 meiner zu bewachen Nacht eine anderer Sohn-hier Nacht
m al akklarav innav-əs, muli gu bap-ə, nenen
 eine auch anderer Sohn-hier stirbt Vater-dort (sie) tragen
gu tressulov, taven gu tenav-ə, aratujn-ə vorov innav-ə
 mit Priester legen Ort-dort Nacht-dort grosser Sohn-dort
gu dže, honel leke gu, or kilš mə, manus-xatoz mə, g
 geht dort sieht dass Ding ein Menschen-Fresser ein
ave hevavi-n tugaç-ə, hev-ə bielu-n g ave
 kommt seiner Rand-dort er aus Fürchten-dort kommt
anra, kadivavi-n koli-n pese, sue gu, valatujn-ə
 hinein Weibes-dort Brust-dort dringt ein schläft Morgen-dort
fena gu, pal-ə g ave, or vorov pal-ə
 wird Bruder-dort kommt dass grosser Bruder-dort
suel e kadivavi-n koli-n, pakre gu: 'kevavi
 geschlafen habend ist Weibes-dort Brust-dort sagt wozu
es suer, pal?' 'nasuav fetsa, avetsi,
 bist geschlafen habend Bruder krank (ich) wurde kam
suel si. aratujn-ə akklarav pal-ə gu dže honel
 schlief ein Nacht-dort anderer Bruder-dort geht dort
bapavi-n upra-n ulluelu džunak mə g ullui
 Vaters-dort Oberfläche-dort zu bleiben. Kleines ein bleibt
na g ullui, g ave hev manus-xatoz-ə, hev-en al
 nicht bleibt kommt jener Menschenfresser er auch
bielu-n g ave kar-ə, sue gu, džunak
 aus Fürchten-dort kommt Haus-dort schläft kleiner

Nacht mein zweiter Sohn und noch eine Nacht mein dritter Sohn.' Der Vater stirbt. Sie tragen ihn mit dem Priester und legen ihn ins Grab. Die Nacht geht der älteste Sohn hin und sieht dort, dass etwass, ein Dämon, auf ihn zu kommt. Aus Furcht kehrt er da heim, legt sich an seines Weibes Brust und schläft ein. Es wird Morgen. Der Bruder kommt (und sieht), dass der ältere Bruder an seines Weibes Brust eingeschlafen ist, und sagt: 'Warum hast du geschlafen, Bruder?' 'Ich wurde krank, kam (hierher zurück) und schlief ein.' Die Nacht geht der (jüngere) Bruder hin, dort bei seinem Vater zu bleiben. . Kaum

pal-ə *g* *ave*, *leke* *gu*, *or* *hotel* *suer*
 Bruder-dort kommt sieht dass da geschlafen habend
e 'pal,' *pakre* *gu*, 'ke*vi* *avetser*, *bapavi-s* *na*
 ist Bruder sagt (er) warum kamst (dem) Vater-hier nicht
leketser? 'ke *karem*, *nasuav* *fetsa*, *pal*, *avetsi*
 sahst was mache (ich) krank (ich) wurde Bruder kam
pakre *gu* *hev-ə*. *aratujn-ə* *fena* *gu*. *džunak* *pal-ə* *gu*
 sagt jener Morgen-dort wird kleiner Bruder-dort
dže. *džunak* *mə* *g* *ullui* *na* *g* *ullui*, *g* *ave*
 geht Kleines ein bleibt nicht bleibt kommt
manus-xaloz-ə. *hevak-en* *e*, *or* *lui-ak* *sis* *tare*,
 Menchenfresser-dort solcher-dort ist dass zwei-einen Kopf hat
aktivatik-ə *vorov*. 'palatik-əd,' *pane* *gu*, 'bietsulsi,
 Augen-dort gross Brüder-da sagt (er) erschreckte (ich)
terav-əd *na* *kərnəm* *bietsner?* 'hev *innav-en* *a*
 dich nicht (ich) kann erschrecken. jener Bursche-dort auch
pane *gu*: 'terave-d *na* *gu* *biem*, *ave!* *leval-ə*
 sagt vor dir nicht fürchte mich komm Gott-dort
teravi-d *gu* *le* *nə*, *teravi-d* *le*, *meravi-s* *gu* *le*
 dir gibt vielleicht dir gibt mir gibt
nə, *meravi-s* *le*.
 vielleicht mir gibt
 leke *gu* *manus-xaloz-en*, *or* *hev* *innav-ə*
 sieht Menschenfresser-dort dass jener Bursche-dort
bicoz *na* *e*. *g* *ave*, *innəvi-n* *əroš-ə*
 Feigling nicht ist kommt (des) Burschen-dort Feuer-dort

ist er da, da kommt jener Dämon. Aus Furcht kehrt er auch nach Hause (zurück) und legt sich schlafen. Da kommt der jüngste Bruder und sieht, dass er da geschlafen hat. 'Bruder,' sagt er, 'warum bist du (hierher) gekommen und hast du nicht nach unserem Vater gesehn?' 'Was sollte ich tun? Ich wurde krank, Bruder, und kehrte hierher zurück,' sagt jener. Es wird Morgen. Der jüngste Bruder geht hin. Kaum ist er da, da kommt der Dämon. Dergestalt ist er, dass er drei Köpfe hat und gewaltige Augen. 'Deine Brüder,' sagt er, habe ich erschreckt, und dich sollte ich nicht erschrecken können?' Der Bursche erwidert: 'Vor dir fürchte ich mich nicht. Komm heran! Gott mag dir oder mir den Sieg verleihen.'

bələrtəne gu. innav-ə nasui gu ərəš anelu. leke
 löscht aus Bursche-dort geht fort Feuer zu holen sieht
gu, or tenav mə ərəš lekəvavi gu, gu dže honel
 dass Stelle eine Feuer erscheint geht dorthin
ərəš anelu. pant pari gu, innav-ə na gu pari,
 Feuer zu holen Weg fällt Bursche-dort nicht fällt
leke gu, or pantavi-n upra-n manus mə veser
 sieht dass Weges-dort Oberfläche-dort Mensch ein sitzend
e. 'vorov manus, kevavi es veser hosel? pakre gu.
 ist grosser Mensch warum bist sitzend hier sagt
leke gu, or lui ərəbaz at-ə teli 'kevavi
 (er) sieht dass zwei Knäuel Hand-dort sich befindet wozu
es afi-d laker hevavotk? 'hev-ə netxi
 bist (der) Hand-da gegriffen habend jene jenes Wurf
karem,' pakre gu vorov manus-ə, 'aratujn gu fena,
 (ich) mache sagt grosser Mensch-dort Nacht wird
aklarav-ə netxi karem, valatujn gu fena.' 'džunak mə
 anderes-dort Wurf (ich) mache Morgen wird Kleines ein
uflue, džem, ərəš anem, hem gaçen netxi kare,
 warte (ich) gehe Feuer hole zurück Zeit Wurf mache!
valatujn-ə fena.' 'na ku fena, suelov muletsan
 Morgen-dort (es) werde nicht wird im Schlaf starben
manusavtik-ə' pakre gu vorov-ə. hev innav-ə vorov
 Menschen-dort sagt Grosser-dort jener Bursche-dort gross
tavari-n pavavtik-ə alavtik-ə bante u aratujni-n
 Mannes-dort Füsse-dort Hände-dort bindet und (der) Nacht-dort

Der Dämon sieht, dass jener Bursche kein Feigling ist. Er kommt heran und löscht des Burschen Feuer aus. Der Bursche geht fort (neues) Feuer zu holen. Er sieht, dass irgendwo Feuer erscheint und geht hin Feuer zu holen. Der Weg fällt, der Bursche fällt nicht. Er sieht, dass auf dem Wege ein Mensch sitzt. 'Alter, wozu sitztest du hier?' sagt er. Er sieht, dass er zwei Knäuel in der Hand hat. 'Wozu hast du die in deine Hand genommen?' 'Ich werfe dieses,' sagt der Greis, 'und es wird Nacht, ich werfe das andere, und es wird Morgen.' 'Warte ein wenig, ich gehe Feuer holen, dann wirf, dass es Morgen wird.' 'Nein, die Menschen sind im Schlaf erstorben,' sagt der Alte.

arabaz-a netxi kare gu, fena gu vorov aratujn.
 Knäuel-dort Wurf macht wird grosse Nacht
innav-a gu dže ərōši-n tugaç-a, leke gu, or honel
 Bursche-dort geht Feuers-dort Rand-dort sieht dass dort
tštar lasə manus-xatoz veser en, xaliv g əranten. hevatopk
 vier zehn Menschenfresser sitzend sind Fleisch kochen sie
farem lui-ak ansev. innav-a gu dže, ak-a gu le
 haben zwei-einen Apfel Bursche-dort geht einen-dort nimmt
hevatonts alave-n, ərōš-a gu le, nasui gu. džunak
 ihrer aus Hand-dort Feuer-dort nimmt geht fort Kleines
mə gu dže, pakre gu: 'hem bələrem, džem ak ansev-en al
 ein geht sagt zurück (ich) kehre gehe einen Apfel-dort auch
anem.' gu dže, ak ansev-en al g ane. manus-
 hole (er) geht einen Apfel-dort auch holt Menschen-
xatozner-a tšlar na gu karen. džunak mə gu dže, pakre gu:
 fresser-dort Laut nicht machen Kleines ein (er)geht sagt
'hem bələrem, ak-en al anem.' manus xatozner-a
 zurück (ich) kehre einen-dort auch hole Menschen-Fresser-dort
pakren gu: 'manus na es terav-əd. lui ansev fares, g
 sagen Mensch nicht bist du zwei Aepfel hast
aves, or ak-en al nenes.' 'tšlar ma karer,' pakre
 kommst dass einen-dort auch trägst Laut nicht mache! sagt
gu innav-a, 'muletsənem gu terav-tonts-əd.' hev-a samel manus
 Bursche-dort (ich) töte euch der guter Mann

Der Bursche bindet des alten Mannes Füsse und Hände, wirft das Nachtknäuel, und es wird finstere Nacht.

Der Bursche geht an das Feuer heran und sieht, dass da 40 Dämonen sitzen und Fleisch kochen. Sie haben drei Aepfel. Der Bursche geht hin, nimmt einen aus ihrer Hand, nimmt das Feuer und geht fort. Ein Weilchen geht er voran, dann sagt er zu sich: 'ich kehre zurück, gehe noch einen Apfel holen.' Er geht und holt noch einen Apfel. Die Dämonen äussern keinen Laut. Ein Weilchen geht er voran, dann sagt er sich: 'ich kehre zurück und hole noch einen.' Da sagen die Dämonen: 'du bist kein (anständiger) Mensch. Zwei Aepfel hast du und kommst auch den anderen noch zu nehmen.' 'Schweig,' sagt da der Bursche, '(oder) ich töte dich.' 'Der ist ein wackerer Mann', sagen die Dämonen,

m e, 'pakren gu xatozner-ə, 'ave tugəç-əs, kam pakreyk.'
 ein ist sagen Fresser-dort komm! Rand-hier Ding (wir) sprechen
'ke bidi pakrek?' *'džepk bidi, vorov-ə lwi ak*
 was nötig (ihr) sagt (wir) gehn nötig Grosser-dort zwei-eine
tsoki tare, anepk bidi, g aves terav-əd?' *'katel e?'*
 Tochter hat (wir) holen nötig kommst du wo ist
'na gu lekəs hev vorov kar-ən, or teli? honel e'
 nicht siehst das grosse Haus-dort welches sich befindet dort ist
'kesvar džepk, pant-ə lekəvtsek meravi!' *lekəvtsetsen*
 wie gehn (wir) Weg-dort zeigt! mir (sie) zeigen
gu pant-ə, sav-ə gu džen. innav-ə nəkle
 Weg-dort alle-dort gehn Bursche-dort besteigt
gu karavi-n upra-n, pakre gu. 'avetsek, ak
 Hauses-dort Oberfläche-dort sagt kommt! einer
ak avetsek, na synken.' *teravi-n tsuri-n nəgale*
 einer kommt nicht dass sie hören sein Messer-dort entblösst(er)
gu, ak ak sisavtik-ə tsine gu. honel gu dže, kar-ə
 ein ein Köpfe-dort schneidet dort geht Haus-dort
pese gu, leke gu, or tsoki-n suer e.
 tritt ein sieht dass Mädchen-dort schlafend ist.
tsokivavi-n tsume gu. honel leke gu, bap-ə
 (dem) Mädchen-dort (er) küsst dort sieht (er) Vater-dort
suer e. tsuri-n nəgale, bapavi-n tsurivavi-n
 schlafend ist Messer-dort entblösst Vaters-dort Messers-dort
tenav-ə tave gu, bapavi-n tsuri-n terav-ə gu le.
 Platz-dort legt Vaters-dort Messers-dort er nimmt

'komm zu uns, dass wir etwas sagen!' 'Was werdet ihr sagen?'
 'Wir wollen uns aufmachen; der Fürst hat drei Töchter, wir
 wollen sie holen. Kommst du mit?' 'Wo ist es?' 'Siehst du
 nicht das grosse Haus, das da steht? Dort ist es.' Wie gehn
 wir? Zeigt mir den Weg!' Sie zeigen den Weg, alle gehn (mit).
 Der Bursche steigt auf das Haus und sagt: 'Kommt, kommt,
 einer nach dem andern, das sie nichts hören.' Er zieht sein
 Messer heraus und schneidet einem nach dem andern den Kopf
 ab. Dann geht er, steigt ins Haus und sieht, dass das Mädchen
 schläft. Es küsst das Mädchen. Dann sieht er, dass der Vater
 schläft. Er zieht sein Messer heraus, legt es an die Stelle des
 Messers des Vaters und nimmt selbst des Vaters Messer. Zu des

tsokəvi-n pavavi-nu sisavi-n ɾoʃ gu lavavi.
 Mädchens-dort Fusses-dort und Kopfes-dort Feuer brennt
ɾoʃavtik-ə pɛvri kare gu nəkle gu baraɕ,
 (die) Feuer-dort Tausch (er) macht begibt sich hinaus
ɾoʃ-ə gu le, nene gu paʃta-n. honel gu dʒe, or
 Feuer-dort nimmt trägt Seite-dort dort geht (er) wo
vorov-manus-ə veser e. pakre gu: 'kevavi atavtik-əs
 grosser-Mensch-dort sitzend ist (er) sagt warum Hände-hier
banfəser? manusavtik-ə suəlov muletsan.' atavtik-ə g
 bandest Menschen-dort im Schlaf starben Hände-dort
ukle, vorov-ə ɾabaz-ə gu netxi kare, valatujn-ə
 (er) öffnet Grosser-dort Knäuel-dort Wurf macht Morgen-dort
fena gu, innav-ə gu dʒe teravi-n kar-ə.
 wird Bursche-dort geht sein Haus-dort
palavtik-ə pakren gu: 'katel eir?' 'merav-əs al na
 Brüder-dort sagen wo warst ich auch nicht
dʒanem te katel ei' pakre gu palavtols-ə, 'avetsek,
 weiss dass wo (ich) war sagt Brüdern-dort kommt!
dʒeyk.' nəklen gu, dʒen gu lui-ak pal-ən
 (wir) gehn! (sie) erheben sich gehn zwei-ein Bruder-dort
a. gu dʒen tsokəvi-n karavtols-ə tugaɕ-ə. tsokəvi-n
 auch gehn Mädchens-dort Häuser-dort Rand-dort Mädchens-dort
pal-ə nəkle, leke g or teravi-n tsuri-n pɛvri
 Bruder-dort erhebt sich sieht dass sein Messer-dort Tausch

Mädchens Fuss und Haupt brennt ein Feuer. Er vertauscht die Feuer, steigt hinaus, nimmt das (eingetauschte) Feuer und trägt es mit sich fort. Er geht dahin, wo der Greis sitzt. Der sagt: 'Warum hast du meine Hände gebunden? Die Menschen sind in einen Todesschlaf gefallen.' Er bindet seine Hände los, der Alte wirft das Knäuel, und es wird Morgen. Der Bursche geht nach Hause.

Die Brüder sagen: 'Wo warst du?' 'Ich weiss selbst nicht, wo ich war', erwidert er den Brüdern, 'kommt, wir wollen hingehn.' Sie machen sich auf und gehn, alle drei Brüder. Sie gehn zu den Häusern des Mädchens. Des Mädchens Bruder [irrtümlich statt Vater] erhebt sich und sieht, dass sein Messer vertauscht ist, des Mädchens Feuer vertauscht ist, dass die Dämonen alle erschlagen sind. Er sagt: 'Dem, der die Dämonen getötet hat (und seinen beiden

karats e, tsokavi-n ərōš-ə þevri karats e,
 gemacht ist Mädchens-dort Feuer-dort Tausch gemacht ist
manus-xatozner-ə sav-ə mari karats en. pakre gu:
 Menschen-Fresser-dort alle-dort Tötung gemacht sind (er) sagt
 'hev-en, or manus-xatozneru-n mari karer
 der-dort welcher Menschen-Fresser-dort Tötung gemacht habend
e, lui-ak tsoki tarem, gu lem hevavtonts.'
 ist zwei-eine Tochter habe (ich) (ich) gebe ihnen
manusavtik-ə tsore gu sav-ə, pakre gu: 'ke ek karer,
 Leute-dort ruft alle-dort sagt was seid getan habend
or tsoki-s lem teravtonts-ad?' hev-ə gu pakre:
 dass Tochter-hier gebe euch der-dort sagt
 'hevak-ə karelsi.' hev-en al gu. pakre: 'hevak-ə
 solches-dort (ich) tat der-dort auch sagt solches-dort
karelsi.' savavi-n sol-ə na gu fena. nasuin
 (ich) tat eines jeden-dort Wort-dort nicht wird (sie) gehn fort
gu. tsokavi-n bap-ə leke gu, lui-ak manus ufluer
 Mädchens-dort Vater-dort sieht zwei-ein Mann geblieben
en karavi-n tugaç-ə. dšrel gu le. g aven.
 sind Hauses-dort Rand-dort rufen gibt (sie) kommen
vorov þalavi-n soli karel gu le, na gu fena. džunak
 grossem Bruder-dort Wort machen gibt nicht wird kleinem
þalavi-n a soli karel gu le. na gu fena. savavi-n,
 Bruder-dort auch Wort machen gibt nicht wird aller-dort
džunak-ə soli karel gu le. pakre gu: 'merav-as avefsi,
 kleinen-dort Wort machen gibt (er) sagt ich kam
manus-xatozner-ə honel veser ein. ərōš bidi lei,
 Menschen-Fresser-dort dort sitzend waren Feuer notwendig nahm

Brüdern [an die der Erzähler denkt]), gebe ich die drei Töchter, die ich habe.' Er ruft alle Leute zu sich und sagt: 'Was habt ihr getan, dass ich euch meine Tochter gebe?' Der eine sagt: 'ich habe solches getan,' ein anderer wieder sagt: 'derartiges habe ich getan.' Keines einzigen Wort genügt, und sie gehn fort. Da sieht des Mädchens Vater, dass drei Leute beim Hause geblieben sind. Er lässt sie rufen, und sie kommen heran. Er lässt den ältesten Bruder reden, es genügt nicht. Er lässt auch den jüngeren Bruder reden, es genügt nicht. Er lässt den allerjüngsten reden, und der sagt: 'ich kam; da sassen da Dämonen. Ich wollte Feuer nehmen; da sah ich,

leketsi, ansev teli *afavtik-a. hem avetsi ansev-a*
 (ich) sah Apfel befindet sich Hände-dort zurück kam (ich) Apfel-
lielu, pakrelsin: 'ave, vorovi-n tšoki-n
 dort zu nehmen (sie) sagten komm! (des) Fürsten-dort Tochter-
anepk. leketsi, or terav-ad bidi mari karen,
 dort holen (wir) (ich) sah dass dich notwendig Tötung (sie)
tšoki-d bidi nenen, savavi-n sisavtik-a
 machen Tochter-da notwendig (sie) forttragen aller-dort Köpfe-
tšinetsi. meravi-s tšuri-n teravi-d tšuriravi-n
 dort (ich) schnitt ab mein Messer-dort deines Messers-dort
pašta-n pèvri karetsi, ošo-a pèvri karetsi, nəkletsı
 Seite-dort Tausch machte Feuer-dort Tausch machte stieg
baraç. terav-ad kesvar kares gu, hevak-a kare!' 'hevak-en
 hinaus du wie kannst solches-dort tue! solch-dort
or kurer es, pakrels vorov-a, tšokəvtik-as
 dass getan habend bist sagte Grosser-dort Töchter-hier
teravtonts-ad gu lem, vorov tšoki-n vorov palavi-n,
 euch gebe grosse Tochter-dort grossem Bruder-dort
džunak-a džunak palavi-n, teravi-n tsumats tšoki-n
 kleine-dort kleinem Bruder-dort seine geküsste Tochter-dort
teravi-n. maçl-a pien gu, valatujn-a fena g
 ihm Branntwein-dort (sie) trinken Morgen-dort wird
vesen gu korivartots-a, g aven bapavtots-a
 (sie) setzen sich Pferden-dort kommen (der) Väter-dort
kar-a. vorov kelits karen gu, xalen gu, pien gu,
 Haus-dort grossen Tanz machen (sie) essen trinken

dass (noch ein) Apfel in ihren Händen war. Ich kam zurück den Apfel zu nehmen. Da sagten sie: 'komm! wir wollen des Fürsten Tochter holen! Ich sah, dass sie dich töten, deine Tochter fort-schleppen wollten, und schnitt allen die Köpfe ab. Ich vertauschte mein Messer mit deinem Messer, vertauschte das Feuer und stieg hinaus. Du handle nun so, wie du es vermagst!' 'Dafür, dass du solches getan hast,' sagte der Fürst, 'gebe ich euch meine Töchter, die älteste Tochter dem ältesten Bruder, die jüngere dem jüngeren Bruder, die geküsste Tochter dem, der sie geküsst hat. Sie trinken Branntwein bis zum Morgen, steigen zu Pferde und kommen zu ihrer Väter [der Erzähler vergisst, dass sie Brüder

vesen gu, soli karen gu. leval-a lets lui-ak ansev,
 sitzen Wort machen Gott-dort gab zwei-einen Apfel
ak-a meravi-s, ak-an a səŋk favozi-n,
 einen-dort mir einen-dort auch Gehör Hinstellendem-dort
ak-an a teravi-d.
 einen-dort auch dir.

sind, und der Vater zudem gestorben ist] Haus . . . Sie machen Hochzeit, essen, trinken, sitzen, unterhalten sich. Gott gab drei Äpfel, einen mir, einen dem Hörer und einen dir.

VII.—THE RIVER RUNNING BY

By ALICE E. GILLINGTON

AFTER all, it was not on the broad brown heath that they all met again, but in the green meadow under the downs, where the clear chalk stream rushes down, splashing and bubbling, through the grey cathedral city, under the bridge, and through the open fields beyond the last inn. If one looked out of the caravan window, one could have tossed a coin into the boats that came rowing down the river.

But there is always one story inside another story, just as there is always one little stone inside the 'lucky stones' which are to be found up on these downs (those 'eagle-stones' found in the Barrows, which were once worn by women as charms in child-bearing).

And this story is, that on that rainy winter's night, when the Rauni gave a caravan tea up on the heath, while she sat with Ellenda, who was 'chiving tin on the fiedas,'¹ inside her own red van with the galloping white horse painted on the door panel, waiting for the kettle to boil and the company to assemble, Ellenda told the Rauni all about her marriage with him of the yellow neckerchief, and whispered to her concerning certain sweet hopes

¹ Putting tin on the clothes-pegs.

she had, and asked the Rauni to bring her something, even if it was ever so small a thing, to welcome the little stranger when it should arrive. And it was to come when the daffodils were in flower, after she had gone to join her mother's camp in the Bar End Field, where the October fair is held. So the Rauni gave her faithful promise that it should be so.

And one day of cold wind but dazzling sunshine, when the grey-green slopes of the downs and the russet wood slopes seemed to fling themselves forward to meet the new golden light, the Rauni took up her bundle and travelled to the grey old city outside of whose walls the camp lay. Past the Butter-Cross she went, and over the bridge, past the Dog and Duck and the Black Boy, till she came to a standstill by the Bar Inn, not knowing which way to take next. And, furthermore, there was no one who could show her, till all at once Sunna the Gypsy boy happened to come down a side street, with a rope bridle hanging out of his pocket and a loaf of bread buttoned up in his waistcoat. And she followed him by a series of footpaths to the camp in the Bar End Meadow.

Yes, there stood the three caravans of that tribe, with their horses grazing beside them, in the muddy grass alongside the river. Above them rose the great down with its crown of lank firs and spindly beeches, walled in by rings, over whose mounds and dykes rolled the grey cloud shadows, alternately masking and unveiling their loneliness. Here the wild thyme's tiny stalks redden the moss and the fairy-rings darken the grass, and the ground is strewn with brown beech-husks, and by and by you will come to the Miz Maze winding in and out beyond those broken stumps that once fenced it round. Ah, there is an old story about the Maze, and a very sorrowful one too!—and the schoolboy who cut out these twisting circles with his knife, or, as some say, tramped it out with his feet, during those long weary weeks of homesick solitude, lay down to die, it is said, under these beech-trees, whose spindling boughs creak and sway in the wind like a murderer's gibbet-chains.

But though the hoarfrost has covered the slippery grass on the steep descent to windward of the chalk hills and the cat-ice still whitens the ruts in the Bar End Meadow, up on the downs the partridges are pairing, and above in the blue the larks are singing, for surely this is the first bright day of the year!

And all the camp has turned out to watch and to welcome the Rauni. Ellenda has come down the steps and is rokkring Romanes excitedly with her father and her two sisters, Georgina and Lovinya; whilst her husband, he of the yellow 'poshnekkus,' is shouting directions to the Rauni not to come through the water-logged middle of the meadow, but to take the path along the fence.

And soon inside Ellenda's van the kettle begins to hum cheerily on a hot coke-fire, the locker is spread with cups and plates, and Lovinya is going up into town to fetch some cakes, when she has put on her brown and red beads and 'kaired herself iuziou,' as the others afterwards explain. While the Rauni is leaning over the hatch, handing over a bit of silver and giving instructions what to buy, her eye falls on a hen bullfinch hopping about in a small cage hung outside the caravan.

'Let yer have that bird for sixpence, lady,' says he of the yellow neckerchief.

'I don't like birds to be kept cooped up in cages,' she answers, shaking her head. 'It's cruel, and I'd rather'—('give you sixpence to set it loose,' she was about to add, but the Gypsy shrugged his shoulders and swung round on his heel).

'Oh, that's nothing!' he said contemptuously.

'*Nothing*, is it?' The Rauni's dark eyes flashed her indignation. 'It's *kindness*, that's what it is! I like birds to fly about in the free and open air!' All the men assembled looked on with deep interest, listening intently.

'What did yer call that bird, lady?' He of the yellow neckerchief changed his voice, his face, his whole demeanour all in a moment from sulkiness to a serene suavity.

'A hen bullfinch. She'll never *sing*, you know; so it's no good——'

'A bullfinch!' exclaimed the wary one, not to be caught. 'There you is now! D'yer 'ear that?' he shouted to the others. 'A bullfinch the lady calls it! What did I tell yer?'

Here the Rauni, finding the fixed stare of the onlookers a trifle embarrassing, abandoned the bullfinch and withdrew into the shelter which the caravan afforded, meeting as she did so the young wife's uneasy gaze.

'What's Lovinya so long about? Isn't she ready yet?'

'She's tovin yo kokoro!' says Georgina.

'Has she got the dloovu?' asks Ellenda.

'Ova!' answers the Gypsy girl.

And while they interpret their speech to the Rauni and are in the midst of teaching her several sentences it is necessary for one to know—such as 'Help!' 'Stop a bit!' 'Hush!' and 'That dog's dangerous!'—he of the yellow poshnekkus puts his dark head in over the door, and coolly surveys the party, who appear to be stricken dumb in his presence, with an inscrutable smile. His wife breaks the silence by asking him rather sharply what he wants. His reply is reassuring.

'I wants 'alf a dinner!'

Whereupon Ellenda gets up, and without a word reaches something down from her corner cupboard, and he pockets it and goes off with the other men and two of the horses.

Soon after this Lovinya returns all radiant with her bag of cakes, and is asked to join the meal. She and Georgina sit down on the floor, Ellenda pours out the tea, and the Rauni is given hers, as a great compliment, in the biggest cup and saucer that ever was seen. Then they remember the children, left all alone; for Britannia their mother (who, like her namesake Britannia Lovel of old, is 'a wonderful lucky woman' at the fortune-telling) has gone out hawking in the town, and nobody is looking after them.

There was Chalky and Britty and Alice, who carried the baby, their 'cousin' Liberty, and Sampson, his small brother; and the father of the first is Amalene, and their brother is Vanlo, who is called Sunna. Liberty's softly-moulded, olive-tinted face was very grave; and when the thick fringe of dark lashes rested on his round cheek, or when they lifted before the flashing brilliance of his black eyes, he looked the true-born Gypsy that he was. Also he had a certain proud toss of the head, just like his Uncle Stanley, when he drives the forest pony with the silver harness to the Whitsun fair, with a bunch of daffodils tied to the whipstock, wearing his dicklo of daffodil gold.

Sampson and Liberty were both attired in brown wide-ribbed corduroys; those of the elder child reached quite to his arm-pits, and he had a brown cap with flaps fastened down over his ears.

Britty's name was really Britannia, and she was four years old; and Noah was called Chalky for short; being named after his rich

uncle Chalky, who lives in the big new caravan which cost a hundred pounds, and is such a brazen, bad man.

'Ei dordi, dordi! Dik at they chavis runnin' after the mush!' mutters Georgina, looking out at the window. And she calls them all up to the van. Alice comes dancing up the steps with a curtsy and a smile which showed the loveliest white teeth, very short and very far apart, which means that one is going to travel! The little plaits round her face bob too, and the silver coins shake in her ears.

'How are you, my lady?' she calls out in her hoarse Gypsy voice.

Chalky, dirty and disconsolate, is brought in and fed with bits of jam puff. He seems to have lost some of his superfluous naughtiness. Britty is round and chubby as heretofore, and laughs as merrily as ever. And every one laughs and chatters, rokkring Romanes between-whiles, and Ellenda gives them again the Romany song, a very curious ditty, with no tune to boast of, which she sang at the caravan tea in the winter:—

'Mandy welled to puv the grys
All around the stiggus oprey!
Here wels a mush to lel mi oprey!
Mandy stripped, ovved to him and delled him in the pur!
Sap mi diri tatcheko! the mush coored well!
All thro' the raklos, a-kickin' up a goedli,
The mush lelled the grys.'

The afternoon wears on, and it is high time for the Rauni to think of bidding them all good-bye. Before she goes she would like to sing something for Ellenda to remember some day when trouble is hard at hand and there is none to help her. So, looking over the door, over the green field and away into the blue sky over the great grey-green down with its grey crown of trees and the cloud-shadows evermore passing over it, she sings 'I think when I read that sweet story of old' and 'Just as I am, without one plea,' while Ellenda sits with grave eyes and Georgina and Lovinya listen with softened faces, and the little one's round eyes gaze up into her own, silent, awed, and comforted.

Then she kisses Ellenda and takes leave of all in the Bar End Meadow Camp, while Alice, Chalky, and Britty come dancing down the field with her.

And home she goes through the grey little town of the

rushing waters, wearing a jonquil that Sunna had picked up and given her on the way to the camp that morning.

Two months afterwards, when the daffodils were in flower, a red caravan, whose driver wore an orange-yellow neckerchief, passed through the village and stopped near the Rauni's mother's gate. And in the porch stood Ellenda, very brown, very pretty, very subdued, bearing in her arms a little dark stranger wrapped in a red shawl. And that is all there is to this story, which after all is not the whole story, but only the beginning of the next; for like the lucky stone on the down, it always carries a little one along with it!

VIII.—TWO GYPSY TALES FROM SLAVONIA

Communicated by DR. FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS OF VIENNA

Servian Text.

English Translation.

I. KAKO JE CIGANIN KRČIO LIVADU.

1. HOW A GYPSY TILLED THE GLEBE.

Popu nije htio niko da krči ljevadu.¹ Nagje on cigana, pita ga: 'Bi li ti ić krčit?'—A ovaj kaže: 'Pa bi!'—Pop: 'Pa idi najprije vidi!'—Cigan ponese sa sobom jest i pit, što je dobio od popa. Dogje na livadu, legne pa zaspe. Drugi dan dogje opet popu, pop mu daje jela i piću, da ponese sa sobom. Cigan se opet izvali posred ljevade pa zaspe. Treći dan dogje pop, da vidi, što je cigan uradio. Kad je došo na ljevadu a cigan se

Nobody would till the priest's meadow. He finds a Gypsy and asks him 'Will you go and dig?'—and he says 'Certainly!' The priest: 'Then go at the earliest possible moment, see to it!' The Gypsy took with him something to eat and drink which he got from the priest. He came to the glebe, lay down and fell asleep. The next day he came to the priest again, and the priest gave him food and drink to take with him. The Gypsy curled himself up again on the meadow and slept. On the third day the priest came to see what

¹ For livade.

Servian Text.

pružio pa spava. Pop probudi cigu: 'Što ti to radiš?'—'Pa ništa, gospodine!'—'Pa zar ne teš krčit?'—'Pa gospodine, ja nisam pogodio krčit. Vi ste meni kazali, da ja idem samo vidit!'—'Pa šta si naučio, cigane, jesi li bar naučio Boga molit?'—'Pa jesam, gospodine!'—'Je li znaš sedam glavnih griha?'—A cigan kaže: 'Pa znam, gospodine!'—'Pa de, molji!'¹—Cigan izbroji šest.—'A di je sedmo, cigane?'—'Ta sedmo je: sedam te gromova ubile,² pope!'

English Translation.

the Gypsy had done. When he came into the meadow, there lay the Gypsy stretched out asleep. The priest woke up the Gypsy lad: 'What are you doing there?'—'Indeed nothing, sir!'—'Well, and might you not be digging?'—'Yes, sir, but I have not agreed to dig. You only said that I was to see to it!'—'And what have you learned, Gypsy: have you learned at least to pray to God?'—'That have I certainly, sir!'—'Do you know the seven cardinal sins?'—And the Gypsy said, 'Them I know, sir!'—'Well, repeat them!'—The Gypsy named six of them.—'But what has become of your seventh, Gypsy?'—'Oh, the seventh is . . . may seven thunder-claps strike you dead, priest!'

NOTE.—The priests, as god-fearing men, are wont to give their field-labourers benedictions, and advice about a joyous eternal life in Paradise, instead of wages. But the Croatian and Servian peasants are of a heathenish disposition, and prefer filthy lucre in payment. Owing to this fundamental difference in the valuation of property, a certain aversion is developed between the clergy, strong in faith, and the less devout peasantry, so that the priest is sometimes obliged to employ even a Gypsy. But the Gypsy, brought up among the people, shares their prejudice against the clergy, and in his simplicity gives innocent expression to it, as is related in this story. The humour consists in this, that the priest sets the Gypsy a task which, as contrary to his traditions, his character, and his self-respect, the latter of course leaves undone. He even curses the priest, and, from his point of view, with justice, for wishing to debase him to a degrading kind of work.

2. KAKO JE CIGANIN NADMUDRIO
POPA.

2. HOW THE GYPSY OUTWITTED
THE PRIEST.

Išo cigan u lov i ubio zeca. Sretne ga pop i kaže mu: 'Ti

A Gypsy went hunting and killed a hare. The priest met

¹ For *moli ih*.

² For *ubilo*.

Servian Text.

ne znaš priredit zeca. Ajde ti k meni mojoj kući. Moja će to kuvarica naredit nama a ja imam dobrog vina pa ćemo mi dobar ručak praviti!—Ciganin poslušao pa ode s popom. Kuvarica naredi i donese ga u salveti na trpezu. Pop donese vina, popije svaki po jednu čašu. Onda pop kaže ciganinu: Ajdemo najprije spavat, onda ćemo ručati! A popa pita cigana: 'A di ćeš?'—'Za vrati!'—A pita ciganin popa: 'A di ćete vi, gospodine?'—'Ja tu na kanapetu!'—Legne pop na kanapetu a cigan za vrata. Kad je pop zaspo, cigan izađe iza vrata i pojede zeca. Cigan se opet povrati i pokrije salvetom prazan tanjir pa legne. Samo što je malo zadržimo a pop se probudi i budi cigana: 'Hajde ustaj, cigane!'—Ustane ciganin, pita ga pop: 'Jesi li, cigane, štogod sanjo?'—'Nisam ništa, gospodine. A jeste li vi šta?'—'Jesam cigane. Sanjo sam, da sam po lojtrama išo po nebu.'—Sad će i ručati pop. Ode stolu, otkrije salvetu a zeca nema. 'Cigane, di je zec?'—'Pojeo sam, gospodine!'—'Kako bi ti prez mene jio?'—'E, pa ja sam

English Translation.

him and spoke to him: 'You don't understand how to dress the hare. Come with me to my house. My cook will boil it and prepare it for us, and I have good wine and we will get a good dinner!'—The Gypsy agreed and went with the priest. The cook prepared it and set it in a napkin on the table. The priest brought up wine and they each drank a glass of it. Thereupon the priest said to the Gypsy: 'Well, we will first sleep, and afterwards we will dine.' And the priest asked the Gypsy: 'And where will you sleep?'—'Behind the door!'—And the Gypsy asked the priest: 'But where will you, sir?'—'I will sleep on the sofa!'—The priest lay down on the sofa, and the Gypsy behind the door. When the priest had gone to sleep the Gypsy came out from behind the door and ate the hare up. The Gypsy returned again, covered the empty plate with the napkin, and lay down. He had only slumbered for a little when the priest woke up and roused the Gypsy: 'Now then, get up, Gypsy!' The Gypsy got up, and the priest asked him: 'Have you dreamed at all, Gypsy?'—'Nothing at all, sir! And have you dreamed something?'—'Yes indeed, Gypsy. I dreamed I had ascended up to heaven on

Servian Text.

*mislio, da se vi ne čete vratiti
iz neba !'*

English Translation.

ladders.'—Now the priest will go to dine. He approaches the table, lifts the napkin up, and lo ! the hare is not there.—'Gypsy, where is the hare?'—'I have eaten it, sir!'—'How could you eat it without me?'—'Well, I just thought you would never come back from heaven again!'

NOTE.—Both tales were told by a Gypsy settled in Požega. At the time of the Turkish dominion a Gypsy quarter, *ciganska mahala*, already existed in Požega, outside the citadel and fortress, in the district of Orłjava, extruded from the town and near the little village of Arslanovci. After the victories of the imperial army the Turks (Moslems) vacated the place, and probably also the Gypsies, who were nominally Moslems. At the beginning of the nineteenth century about twelve families of nomad Gypsies were compelled to settle in the neighbourhood of the old Gypsy quarter at Požega, and converted to Christianity ; and until the year 1875 there were still seven or eight persons there who could converse in Romani. Meanwhile Germans settled in the *Zigeuner Gasse*, and the street was renamed *Nimački Sokak, Deutsche Gasse*. With the loss of their language the Gypsies became externally Croats. At the elections for the Croatian Parliament they are the support of the patriots of the day. They pose as the precursors of the saviour of their fatherland, shout and gesticulate like men possessed, and drag the voters to the poll. Although the Gypsy of to-day speaks only Croatian and a little German (for Požega, like all towns in Slavonia and Croatia, is succumbing little by little to a process of Germanisation, while the Croatian peasantry is escaping from its Croatian oppressors to America), yet he always shows how great is his need of a natural means of expression. He abuses the language, and betrays his foreign origin by his false accent, comical sing-song intonation, and hasty, affected way of talking ; and in no less a degree by his gestures. The church he shuns, and, even more persistently, the school, i.e. the board school ; for there, the most outlawed and defenceless child of man, he must suffer blows and kicks, pulling of the ear and tearing of the hair—even starvation—until, in disgust, he loses all desire to learn. Franjo M., who for thirty-eight years has plied his cruel trade at Požega, is famed far and wide for this method of mismanaging children !

IX.—A GYPSY TRACT FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.

THE following curious tract, describing the death of the King of the Gypsies, which is here reprinted, has an air of reality that removes it somewhat from many of the fictitious news-pamphlets that can be dismissed at once as incredible. The opening paragraph shows the writer to share the view, common in

Strange and Certain

NEWS FROM WARWICK:

OR

The KING of the *Gypsies* dreadful

Tragedy.

BEING

A true Relation how a company of

Gypsies in *Warwickshire* Chose one *Horn* for their King, who being Accused for Deceiving a Maid of Ten Shillings under pretence of telling her Fortune, solemnly VVist before a Magistrate, *He might be Burned if he had it.*

Whereupon being Committed to the Goal, the Eleventh of September last, he was that very Night Burnt to Death: As a just Judgment on all such Idle Extravagant Persons, that Live by Defrauding others, and use such wicked Execrations to Cloak their Villanies.

Published for a warning to all: By an Eye-witness.

London, Printed by *Edward Crouch*, 1673.

his day, that the Gypsies were Egyptians, real or pretended. He shares, too, the confusion that regarded Romanes as identical with the Canting speech. Then Herne is the English form of the Romanes tribal-name of Matcho. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Matcho is the Romanes form of Herne, for apparently the Gypsies, having been compelled to adopt Gorjo surnames, then translated them back into Romanes, and so we have Herne taken as equivalent to Herring, and then rendered by Matcho, the Romanes word for fish. The statement that Herne had been master of a good trade in London implies that he was originally a Gorjo who had taken to the road from a liking for a wandering life. His Gypsy name is against this, unless we suppose that the nomadic instinct had asserted itself in a member of the race brought up by some chance in the manner of the Gentiles. The use by the early Gypsies of a special costume finds an echo in the description of the kingly robes. That the English Gypsies had a king, however shadowy his authority may have been, is certain, although his royalty was probably intended more for the edification of the Gentiles than for the good government of the tribes. Again, the refusal of the bed at the jail points to a fear of defilement from Gorjo contact.

These are incidental matters that make it easier to believe the narrative, which, indeed, has all the character of veracity. On the other hand, the Rev. Alan Williams, the Vicar of St. Mary's, Warwick, Mr. T. Kemp, the Mayor of Warwick (who has written on the history and archæology of the town), and Mr. Brabazon Campbell, the Town Clerk of Warwick, have failed to find any reference in the local registers and records to this sordid tragedy of the Gypsy King.

The tract is certainly very rare, if not unique. It is unknown to bibliographers, and, at my suggestion, was purchased for the Manchester Reference Library, which some years ago acquired the famous Bataillard collection, and thus became one of the great storehouses of Gypsy literature.

STRANGE AND CERTAIN NEWS FROM WARWICK OR THE KING OF
THE GYPSIES DREADFUL TRAGEDY being

A true Relation how a company of Gypsies in Warwickshire Chose
one Hern for their King who being Accused for Deceiving a

Maid of Ten Shillings under pretence of telling her Fortu[n]e, solemnly VVisht before a Magistrate, He might be burned if he had it

Whereupon being Committed to the Goal, the Eleventh of September last, he was that very night burned to Death: As a just Judgment on all such Idle Extravagant Persons, that live by defrauding others, and use such wicked Execrations to Cloak their Villanies.

Published for a warning to all: By an Eye-witness.

London, Printed by Edwerd Crowch 1673.

NEWS FROM WARWICK &C.

AMONGST all these Idle Vagrants, which are the Catterpillars of Commonwealths, and pests of Humane Society, those distinguisht by the Title of Gypsies, are none of the least Mischievous; A sort of Extravagants, that by discolouring their faces, wearing Antick Habits, using a Barbarous Language more confused than all the Dialects of Babel (which they call Canting) and especiall by pretending wonderful Skill in Fortune telling, pass amongst the poor Credulous Rabble for Natives of Ægypt; A Country which anciently outvied all the world for skill in Magick, and the Mysterious Black Arts of Divination; whereby wherever they come, they impose on vulgar ignorance, and gain Opportunities of cheating silly people at once, both of their wits (such as they are) and (what is more considerable) of their money. To express their Insolencies, the wisdom of our ancestors has provided severe and Capital Punishment. But Laws not animated by due Execution, are but a dead letter, and by I know not what unhappy fate it comes to pass that notwithstanding those wholesome Preservatives, this noisome Contagion still continues to infest our Body Politick, insomuch that some out of pure Wantonness abandon good Trades whereby they might live Honestly and Comfortably, to list themselves in this stragling Crew, and think it a greater Happiness to ramble abroad the Countries at the mercy of every Constable, then to continue at Home following their lawful employment.

Of these Whimsie-brain'd People, one Hern was of late become very Notorious, a person not unknown to several in the City of London, where once he was Master of a good Trade, which might have maintained him very plentifully, the Humour took him to

neglect it for the more delicious Life of a Gypsie. In which quality having spent some years, and survey'd most of the Countries in England, he happened in the beginning of September, to arrive in Warwickshire; at which time it seems the Laws of that stragling Fraternity, oblige them to chuse their Annual King; to which purpose great numbers were assembled, and this Hern stood one of the chief Candidates for that Royal Dignity, But it seems their Election was mannaged (like that of Poland) somewhat boisterous, insomuch that a fray happened, and this Hern, King Elect, broke his Arm in the Contest, before he could be crown'd.

But not valuing so slight a Hurt, since it was acquired in the acceptance of a Crown (that splendid Temptation, for which not a few have ventured both Body and Soul) he began his progress very magnificently, drest in a Rich Suit, and large Mantle over his shoulders, edg'd with a deep Embroidery of Gold, his two Sumpter Horses to carry his baggage and Wardrobe, and one of the most Handsome and Buxome Lasses of their Jilting Society whom he had adopted his Queen attended him. In this State dispersing several Parties to ravage abroad, himself with a small Retinue; took up his Head Quarters at a place called Badford in Warwickshire, where presently a crowd flockt about him; and the young Wenches (that neither hope, nor wish, nor dream of anything but Husbands) must needs have their fortunes told, amongst the rest a Farmers Daughter just come from Market with about Ten Shillings in her pocket, addrest her self to the Gypsie King to know her Fate, who, amusing the poor Girl with hard Words, and strange Gestures, soon found an Opportunity by his Dexterity in Legerdemain, to disburthen her of her Cash; which the Wench by and by perceiving, began Lamentable Exclamations as Loud as an Irish hubbub, which alarm'd the whole Town; and amongst the rest her Father a Blunt Country Fellow, which without any Respect to our Royal Gypsie, charges him and his Queen with a Constable and by him they are carried before a very worthy Gentleman, one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for that County: who Examined them very discreetly, but they impudently denied all; and the Pageant King solemnly wisht, That he might be Burned that Night, if Directly or Indirectly he had medled with any of the girls money or knew what was become of it.

But the Maids evidence was too direct to admit any such excuses, their Mittimus is made, and both King and Queen sent to

Warwick Goal, where being come they refuse a bed, and are furnished with Straw onely to lye upon, which they cover with several very rich Blankets of their own which they brought along with them, and set to Drinking and Ranting till late at night: when they laid them down to sleep; having stuck a Candle to the Wall (which they left burning) it happen'd when they lay snoring (all their senses fast lockt up in the Charms of Drink and Sleep) the Candle fell down amongst the straw, which taking fire soon burnt the poor Conceited King to death, and so far mortified his Queen, that tis much feared she will not scape with her life; their Coverlets (with the Kings Gamblet Cloak) were burnt, and the unruly Flames began to mount to the top of the House so that the whole Goal was in great danger to have been destroyed, had it not timely been discovered, and the Town risen, and broke through an Aldermans House which was next to the prison, and made shift to master the growing Conflagration; At which time they found the miserable Gypsie King mortally burned, and his Queen almost roasted alive, and so suffocated with the Heat and Smother, that they had much ado to bring her to her senses again. she was forthwith taken care of by the Officers of the Town, and the remains of his Body was Buried on Sunday in the Evening, in St Marys Church, but the Mayor and Justices caused it to be removed few days after. Thus Tragically ended this unhappy Extravagant, perishing that very night in that manner he had wished for by his cursed Execration! A sad Example, that should warn all people from wishing such curses upon themselves, nor neglect or forsake their honest Employments, to engage in such wicked Courses and Society, which ever terminates in bitterness and misery; And to avoid in their Communication all profaine wishes, abominable Curses, or Self-Execrations, since the Just and All-seeing Eye of Heaven does observe and oft-times even in this life take vengeance on such desperate Sinners, in the same kind as their Impious wishes have Alotted to themselves. So dreadful a thing it is for Vile Dust and Ashes, to Jest with Thunderbolts, or dare the Wrath of Infinite Majesty, by such False and Detestable Imprecations.

FINIS

X.—SHELTA

OR THE LOST LANGUAGE OF THE BARDS, AND HOW IT WAS
RECOVERED

By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND

NOTE.—The following papers by the late President of the Gypsy Lore Society were intended as an introduction to a comprehensive work on Shelta which the discoverer of that language was going to undertake in conjunction with Mr. John Sampson and myself.¹ References to the proposed book occur throughout the papers, which are here printed without the revision they would have received had their author lived to see them in print.

Instead of finding fault with some of the statements made, and expressions used, by Mr. Leland—such as that Shelta was a distinct Celtic language, 'a tongue even as Gaelic is a tongue,'—I should like to point out that his suggestion as to the smiths having formed a close corporation in the Society of Ancient Ireland is borne out by evidence from Irish literature; while the 'spell-working smith' is a familiar figure in Irish legend.

KUNO MEYER.

PREFACE.

IT is a strange thought, yet true, that if by the learned we may indicate those who have studied Latin and French, and who pay some attention to literature beyond merely amusing themselves, there is still among them all not one in a hundred, and perhaps even a thousand, who can tell how many indigenous languages are spoken in Great Britain. All are cognisant of English, Jersey French, Gaelic, Erse, and Welsh, including Anglo-Romany. But how many are aware that there is in existence a distinct Celtic language, not a mere dialect, but a tongue even as Gaelic is a tongue, which is actually spoken by some thousands of people, as it has been for more than a thousand years?

That to which I allude is the Shelta, and it has ever been so carefully concealed and its discovery is so recent that it is no wonder that few, even among professional philologists, have ever heard of it. Romany was long guarded with jealous care as a family secret by the Gypsies, but Shelta was hidden like a religious arcanum by the Tinkers and other nomads allied to them.

¹ This projected book was to contain a revised reprint of various articles on Shelta, as well as several new chapters and all Mr. Sampson's collections. For this purpose Mr. Leland wrote the preface and the article on Tinkers here printed, revised and enlarged the chapter on Shelta from his book *The Gypsies*, and composed an essay on 'The hidden language in old Irish art,' which cannot be printed appropriately in this journal.

For it was preserved by the Tinkers or Tinklers, especially of the north of England, Scotland, and Ireland, although it was more or less known to many even in London itself. And so well did they keep it to themselves, that George Borrow, who shows himself familiar with this class, and wrote much about them, never dreamed that they had a secret tongue, although he was, as he declares, as a boy familiar with Old Irish.

John Bunyan, who was not, as I once erroneously supposed, a Gypsy, was, however, of Tinker blood, and familiar with a language spoken by them, as he tells us, though we are not informed what it was. Shakespeare, who knew everything, makes Prince Hal declare that he could drink with a Tinker in his own language. Sir William Betham in his disquisitions to prove that Etruscan was Irish, has said that the Tinkers and masons of Ireland had a secret jargon. Beyond these three I cannot recall a single writer who even mentioned it, previous to the publication of the chapter on Shelta in my work entitled *The Gypsies*, first published in 1882. This chapter I here reproduce, these remarks being introductory to it.

After I had published the chapter in question, which sets forth how I discovered from a tramp that there was such a tongue, and followed up the hint for two years until I had fully verified its existence, the subject was taken up by two learned Celtic scholars, one being the well-known Professor KUNO MEYER, and the other JOHN SAMPSON, now librarian of the University of Liverpool. This latter *savant* shares with FRANCIS HINDES GROOME the reputation of being the first English-Gypsy scholar; his personal experiences in life on the roads in pursuit of learning having been very extensive and most remarkable. The result of the researches of these two philologists, Sampson and Meyer, was so strange as to seem absolutely romantic. For they firstly proved from intrinsic evidence that Shelta, of which they collected numerous specimens in the form of tales and songs, preserved many old Celtic forms or grammatical peculiarities which had disappeared from Old Irish, or Gaelic, or Welsh as now written. This placed its antiquity beyond question.

But beyond this, it was found by an Irish manuscript one thousand years old that the Celtic bards had an artificial secret tongue peculiar to themselves, known as Shelta, and of this, by extraordinary chance, a vocabulary had been written which still exists in the

manuscript referred to. And the vocabulary made it clear beyond all doubt that this secret and sacred tongue of ancient days was identical with that of the British Tinkers of the present time. All of which is more clearly set forth in detail by the contributions of Professor Meyer and Mr. Sampson to this volume, which articles, by the way, originally appeared in the *Journal* of the Gypsy Lore Society.

If it be asked how it came to pass that the language of the bards sunk to such base uses as to serve as the tongue of Tinkers and tramps, I can only offer a theory which had occurred to me while reading several works on prehistoric or early archæology, which idea was clearly presented to me by some English review the name of which I regret to have forgotten. It was to the effect that the bronze-workers of old time formed a very close corporation, having many secrets, and being in all probability allied to the learned class or bards. Hence they may have used the same language. And it is probable that the Tinkers, or modern itinerant metal-workers, are the direct descendants of the artificers in bronze.

There is much on reflection which renders this probable. The bronze-workers were quite the same with the jewellers who made the marvellous torques or bracelets and collars, fibulæ or buckles, inlaid and filigreed arms and armour of all kinds, which amaze us by the extraordinary knowledge, not merely of metal-work which they display, but of metallurgy and chemistry. Outside the association of the bards, they were almost the only artists and scholars or men of culture. They understood runes in Scandinavian countries, and Ogham in Ireland. But what is little understood as yet, they had full knowledge of the mysterious meaning of the interlaces and symbolism of Celtic or Norse art, how to give magic power to weapons and what spells to pronounce over them. Therefore to this day in many places all smiths are regarded as semi-conjurers. All of this fully explains why the metal-workers in the olden time may have been identified with the bards or learned.

Shelta, which has been kept so secret till within a very few years, is now disappearing so rapidly that it is quite possible it might have vanished altogether and left no trace, but for the discoveries and searches recorded in this book. This seems strange, that a language which was once in all probability the learned

tongue of the bards, and possibly that of the Druids, should have all but perished. It was perhaps their Sanskrit—just as a knowledge of Etruscan was the Sanskrit of the Roman priesthood. But Etruscan itself is, as yet, far more unknown than Shelta. No man living knows it or can read the Linen Book, discovered, I may say, recently in the wrapping of an Egyptian mummy. 'The Emperor Claudius wrote a history of the Etruscans, which from the very nature of the case must have had a wide circulation.'¹ But it has vanished, albeit a witch or *strega* has assured me by means of divination that a copy of it still exists in Florence or Rome.

It will be understood perhaps in the next generation that there should be in one university at least a chair where there will be taught some knowledge of all the languages, dialects, jargons, and slangs spoken in Great Britain. In nine-tenths of all the novels written there is some exhibition of a knowledge of at least one of these, and it is strange, to say the least, that what forms such a remarkable element in folk-lore should not now be scientifically treated.

XI.—THE TINKERS

BY CHARLES GODFREY LELAND

THE Tinker is a member of an ancient calling which is perhaps more widely spread in the world than any other, since its practitioners occupy themselves with repairing articles which are most generally in use. Thus they mend with solder, etc., kettles and pans, or any other small wares of metal, sharpen knives and scissors, while some extend their work to umbrellas and drilling and wiring broken china. This gives them skill, and as it is well known that the practice of any arts which develop the constructive faculty sharpens the intellects, the result is that the Tinker, under a proverbial taciturnity or grimness, invariably hides a peculiar cleverness, allied to as odd a cynical or stoical disposition. In Great Britain the Tinkers, known in Scotland as Tinklers from their bells, still form a distinct caste, generally intermarrying, and speaking a peculiar language.

¹ *The Romance of Book Collecting*, by J. H. Slater. London: Elliot Stock. 1898.

In Roman times the Tinker was included in the general craft or calling of the smith—*ferramentarius* or *ferramentorum confector* as Julius Firmicus hath it. Pliny calls them *metallici qui metalla erunt aut conficiunt* (lib. xiii. cap. 16), allied to whom were the *Novacularii*, who made and ground razors and knives (Ravisius Textor. *Officina*). The stupendously erudite Tommaso Garzoni—who to make his work *La Piazza Universale*, read through eleven hundred authors, besides adding much from his own observation—describes tinsmiths, tinkers, knife-grinders in detail. Of the latter he says (this was in 1610): ‘The *Arruotatori* or Grinders [from *rota*, a wheel, *rotare*, to turn] are those who sharpen knives, scissors, shears, and the like, and in their outfit are wheels, *stile* or long bars of wood, *bile* (balancers, also hinges), curved boards and a handle, also the *cotte*, the vase of water, the running away (*menare della gamba*), and similar fancies. Among other things to amuse children, they pick up needles with magnetised knives, whereby they also deceive ignorant peasants, who give them chickens, pies, and eggs, to have their own knives thus enchanted.’ The same author speaks with some contempt of their tricks. One of these was very curious. As a Tinker stands on one foot, while the other is on the treadle, he has one accomplishment in common with a crane or stork, and this he turns to account by betting that he can stand two hours on one leg! Almost the same with these are the *Cortellari*, who make and sharpen knives and scissors, and of these was the father of Demosthenes; which accounts for the early impediment in his speech and his subsequent fluency, since all of the calling are slow to speak at first when addressed, but become eloquent in persuasion when they think they may get a job—a remark savouring of frivolity, yet not malapropos. But most interesting of all as regards antiquity are the *Calderari* or menders of pots and kettles, because they are described as specially working in bronze, in fact Garzoni speaks of them as ‘*Calderari* or bronze-workers.’ Bronze is to this day so much employed in Italy for all kinds of kitchen or household utensils, that the sign *Bronzista* is a very common one in Florence. The author describes minutely all the processes of their work, such as repoussé and soldering. These are, according to a song in my possession—and a very improper lyric it is—the real vagabond Tinkers of the road, and among them are many Gypsies.

The *Stagnarini* were of old the tinnerns, 'pelterers' or pewter-workers, who made, cast, and repaired pewter vessels, and are described as clever in metal-work and gilding, but the lowest of all rascals, ever wandering about. All of this is deserving mention, because it proves that the Tinkers formed of old time a part of the fraternity of itinerant bronze-workers, and that they are in Italy, though no longer in Great Britain, to this very day identified with them. Which, it will be seen anon, is a matter of importance in explaining how it came to pass that these itinerants learned to speak Shelta.

The remarkable, in fact almost absolute degree to which the character and inner life of the British Tinker remained till recently unknown, and the extraordinary manner in which he continued to shroud himself from observation and exist as the type of a peculiar people, when rightly considered, forms an interesting ethnological problem or subject. I have in the Introduction set forth the very possible or probable suggestion that he is a descendant of the early, in fact prehistoric, guild of bronze-workers, which would in part account for his secretiveness, as the association must have been a 'mystery' as all trades were, it being the chief of trades. And as language is, according to Max Müller, the cord on which are strung all the beads of social customs, it follows that the having a tongue as an indication, *mot de passe*, shibboleth, or credentials (which was guarded with strictest care as a secret), would of itself go very far indeed on the 'give and take' principle in design, to separate them from others, and so incorporate themselves more closely. This has been studied with curious result in the Jews with their *Lusnekütisch* or Jiddish, in Gypsies, who, from India to San Francisco going westwards, murmur together in Romany, in the Jenisch and Rotwelsch of German vagabonds, the Argôt of thieves, and similar lingos, examination proving that in all cases, as habits or tradition form the tongue, it in turn exercises a marked effect on character, according to the give and take or mutual action and reaction influence alluded to. Thus it may be barely possible, but it is difficult to realise, that a child brought up to speak nothing but French could be perfectly English in all habits of thought, manners, and feelings, simply because there is no race on earth whose language is exactly adapted to convey the *sentiments* or idioms of any other.

That the Tinklers, or the wandering Tinkers of what we may call Keltia, Celtia, or the Celtic portions of Great Britain, held together as a class was known to many, and a few writers of real genius perceived in the men a quaint type of character. Such is Sprott the Tinker, as described by Lytton Bulwer, and the Peter Bell of Wordsworth. It is true that Peter was a potter; that calling or peddling earthenware is, however, often pursued by Tinklers in Scotland. But there can be no mistaking the type of character; there is nothing so perfectly sketched in the English language.

For in the first place the real British Tinker is habitually of a taciturnity and apparent stolidity which is without parallel, unless it be in the Red Indian, of whom I have had some intimate experience, finding that in both instances this apparent front of brass or lead is in reality a mask. Therefore, it would appear to all refined souls of gentle culture, that Peter Bell, like my friend Owen Macdonald, had no perception of the 'truly beautiful,' as felt, let us say, in Boston. In which analysis, as in declaring that a yellow primrose was nothing but a primrose to Peter, the poet gets into a paradox, for I opine that primroses are just *that* unto one another! Thus we are told that

'Nature ne'er could find the way
Into the heart of Peter Bell';

and anon that

'Though Nature could not touch his heart
By lovely forms and silent weather,
And tender sounds, yet you might see
At once that Peter Bell and she
Had often been together.'

What it amounts to is that the Tinker felt and enjoyed nature without thinking about it, whereas cultivated folk think and talk of the same with very little real experience or sincere enjoyment thereof. And as the Quaker father said to the youth who came to serenade his daughter and sang 'Sweet Home'—'Friend, if thee thinks so much of thee home, why don't thee go to it?'—so I would ask of the æsthetes: 'Friends, if you think so much of nature, why don't you go to nature instead of galleries of art?'

The solitary, often savage, wanderings of such nomads induce a silent habit, a strange stoicism which separates them from other men, and casts the mind inward or on to itself. I began many years ago to perceive this peculiar character and to study it. Thus I can remember how once of old, in a slum in London, I got together four Tinkers and took them into a tavern and treated them. Firstly, I observed that when they chose to do so and became respectfully familiar and at their ease, they all spoke better—far better English than we habitually expect to hear from such massy specimens of 'the masses.' Secondly, that all knew a little Romany, but not much. Thirdly, that one spoke French fairly well, and one indifferently, while both assured me that a great many of the fraternity were familiar with it.

'It comes about in this way, sir,' said one, a rather young man. 'They have found out all over the north of France that we English griddlers (Tinkers) are better at the business than their own *drouiners* and *émoleurs*—which is quite true, the French being mere bunglers at it. So the people prefer us, and every summer many of us go on the road in France, I having been over there four times.'

I did not know at the time what I would bet roundly on now—that every one of these men knew more or less Shelta and possibly made comments in it, on me their friend and benefactor, in an undertone, even while drinking my health. For that it is known rather extensively in London itself was made known to me some years after, as follows: Waiting one day near the Euston Road or Saint John's Wood Station, I fell in with two small vagabond boys, who were selling groundsel for birds. They were not Gypsy, but the elder knew many Romany words, describing in that language the pitching a tent in a manner which indicated that he was a keen observer. And having tried him in Shelta, I found him so far familiar with the tongue, that when I observed: 'The nidias of the kiena don't grani what we're a-tharyin',' he promptly translated it as: 'The gentry of the house don't know what we're a-sayin'.'

And thereupon I gave him sixpence with the remark—

'Little boy—if you are not hanged on the way, before you get to it—I should not wonder if some day you will be a professor of languages.'

The work of Grellmann in the beginning of this (the nineteenth)

century, with those of Hoyland, Crabbe, and finally George Borrow, had explained to the British public in detail what the Gypsies were, how they had a hidden language of Hindu origin, and did not talk slang or a thieves' jargon as was evidently believed by a still living Oxford professor, who in a critique speaks of canting songs as being in the Gypsy tongue. The whole secret lay in *Romany*—the revelation of it set forth the Gypsy. And it was in the discovery of Shelta, and especially of its very remarkable origin, by my colleagues Messrs. Sampson and Meyer, that the first knowledge of the Tinker as a class so separate as almost to form a race, consisted. That this had not been found out by George Borrow or Wilson, both of whom specially cultivated Tinkers, is a proof of the extraordinary reticence of the tribe and of their constant effort to keep Shelta a secret.

The first or second time when I conversed with Borrow was in the British Museum, where he was examining an old Irish manuscript, and made the remark to me that he did not believe there was a man now living who could really read such works. But this Nestor of the *Romany* ryes, who was indeed a man of marvellous attainment and real genius, was somewhat touched with the very common weakness of the old school, that he had mastered many subjects. Thus he positively declared in his *Lávo-lil* that there are only twelve hundred Anglo-Romany words, when in fact my own manuscript collection actually contains between three and four thousand, all approved as authentic by the late Professor E. H. Palmer. What Borrow would have said had he been told that there were thousands of Tinkers now living who spoke the secret language of the bards—which was probably that of the Druids—passes conjecture.

The Tinker fraternity of Great Britain existed with perhaps nearly all its ancient characteristics, as did that of the Gypsies, unbroken and little mixed with foreign blood, until the advent of railroads, or about 1845. Now the one and the other are vanishing rapidly, and with them so much which once gave a peculiar charm to nature—lonely roads, hedges, waysides green, the noon-day rest beneath the spreading tree in the forest—that I feel as if those who are to come after us are destined to lead another and a strangely different life. When there shall or will or may be no more *Waldeinsamkeit* or sylvan solitude, and there will be perhaps a hundred bicycles or automobilia where there was one cavalier or

pedestrian of old, then indeed the last Tinkers or Gypsies may well sing, 'Tis time for us to go.' Borrow has beautifully described the peculiar charm which the picturesque Gypsy lends to rural life on the roads, comparing them to wild birds. But ere long the birds will be gone too—all departed into bonnets where they now take the place of bees—and those who are to follow will know as much of the one as of the other.

REVIEWS

L'Origine des Bohémiens. Essai Critique par le MARQUIS ADRIEN COLOCCI. Città di Castello, 1905.

THE Marquis Colocci begins his brochure, which he dedicated to the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, by examining the various theories about the origin of the Gypsies: in the first place, those that are connected with a study of the names they bear; in the second place, those that are based on a study of their manners and customs; in the third place, those that have more semblance of truth than the two preceding. Strange to say, he classes in this third category—though only to refute them—not only that of Wagenseil, who took them for Jews, but also that of Hasse, who thought to have discovered in them the Sigynnæ of Herodotus. At page 11 he comes to the authors who like Grellmann and Grierson, have proved the Indian descent of that people. He discusses the question put by Grellmann, Rienzi, and others of a deportation of Indians by Timur, and also whether they were originally Tatars. Lastly, he examines the theory of an Egyptian origin of the Gypsies. Having rejected all these theories, excepting that of their Indian origin, Colocci mentions the progress due to the linguistic researches of Ascoli, and Miklosich, and concludes by declaring that his own views are in accord with those of Kounavine, viz. that the emigration of the Gypsies from India continued for many centuries, and may have begun even before our Christian era.

I am sorry to say that the contents of the pamphlet have disappointed me. That the Marquis Colocci did not read my first essay on the Gypsies, published in 1875, but knows it only by imperfect quotations, is quite natural, as it was written in Dutch. But he might have taken notice of my *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, published in 1903, in which he would have found an answer to more than one of his questions. The problem of the emigration of the Gypsies cannot be solved by speculation, but only by a comparative study of their language. Now, Miklosich has proved that all the European dialects are

modifications of a single language. He had for it a wealth of material at his disposition. Does a similar affinity exist between the European and Asiatic dialects? I tried to ascertain it by an examination of the scanty materials we possess at present concerning the latter, and found sufficient conformity to answer the question in the affirmative. This unity of language of the western and eastern Gypsies leads necessarily to the conclusion that their exodus from India took place at a single period. This period is fixed by the testimony of Masūdi, who, in his *Tanbīh*, gives an account of the great emigration of Gypsies from India in the beginning of the ninth century.

I profit by the occasion to call the reader's attention to the *Disputatio historico-juridica de Cinganis sive Zigeunis*, of F. R. Spengler, Leiden, 1839, a very able treatise. Spengler vindicates the Indian origin of the Gypsies, and the unity of all their European dialects. The greater part of his memoir is occupied by the account of their political adventures in Europe.

M. J. DE GOEJE.

TWO ROMANI TRANSLATIONS

Omār Khayyām. Bish ta dūi Giliá chidé aré Volshitska Romani Chib JOHN SAMPSONÉSTAR. Dikinangriása AUGUSTUS JOHN-ÉSTAR. Llundráti: David Nutt, 1902.

Echoes. By DONALD MACALISTER. Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1907.

When Mr. Sampson five years ago published the first book in Welsh Romani—his rendering of twenty-two quatrains of Omar—nothing seemed less probable than his finding a single reader, unless indeed it were his finding an imitator. Yet this is what has actually occurred. For here we have from Principal MacAlister yet another twenty-two quatrains turned into the same dialect. Of the two versions it is sufficient praise to say that Romani idiom and *ordo verborum* have been so faithfully observed that the verses ought to be intelligible to the tribe of Abram Wood, who are presumably the clientèle anticipated. It is a pleasant fancy—the Welsh Gypsy fisherman on the banks of

the Dovey laying down his rod for a moment or two and pulling from his pocket Mr. Sampson's *Giliā*, or in the woods of Arthog with his *pirani* making Mr. MacAlister's *Echoes* his 'book of verses underneath the bough.' But even if this expectation be not realised, these translations will at least have served the purpose of illustrating the scope and beauty of the perfectly preserved Welsh dialect. Indeed it was à propos of one of these Romani quatrains, used as dedication to Mr. Duff's *Sandars Lectures*, that the late Richard Garnett observed to the author: 'I don't know, Mr. Duff—I really don't know—what language your dedication is written in, all our museum staff have been trying in vain to find out for me; but if it's a language you have invented yourself, all I can say is that it is an exquisitely sonorous one.' Mr. Sampson reprints in the same little book his elegiac lines 'Stanyakeréski,' which have a particular appropriateness since Mr. Groome was the first student of the Welsh dialect; while Mr. MacAlister, besides the *Tanengréske Shtaréngē Giliā* ('tent-maker's quatrains'), gives a charming Romani version of Stevenson's *Vagabond*, which has all the merit of an original poem, and one which we confess to liking better in its Egyptian than in its Scottish dress. The only criticisms we have to offer are that in Mr. Sampson's booklet we should have preferred to see him '*jal the chūlo bālo*' and render Nutt's name as *Penáχ* and Constable's as *Múskro*; and we think Mr. MacAlister's Preface should have been a polyglot composition, with successive sentences in Scots, Norse, German, and Romani.

EDMUND T. COLEMAN.

The Whole Art of Caravanning. By BERTRAM SMITH.

Longmans: London, 1907.

MR. BERTRAM SMITH is a gentile of the gentiles, whose knowledge of the Gypsies may be gauged by the fact that he refers to the race as 'the Romany Rye.' An enthusiast on the art of caravanning, he has perfected a form of movable three-room dwelling-house, where on emergency the kitchen may be converted into a bathroom and the dining-room into a miniature boudoir. This for some odd reason he calls 'camping out,' but the person who sleeps in a tent he evidently regards as a dangerous extremist.

The ideal of the caravan is to look like 'a piece of drawing-room furniture,' and of the caravanner to be able to 'reach things without rising from his seat.' Personally we think Mr. Smith's invention is a blot on the landscape, and pity the member of his party whose duty it is to prepare 'the *recherché* little seven-course dinners.' Still, in his own fashion Mr. Smith has powlert up and down a bit. He knows—as we do to our sorrow—that most Welsh gates are too narrow to admit a moderate-sized van, and he understands the joy of travelling by night. So there is still hope for him if he could but be persuaded to learn Romani, be less of an epicure, take his bath in the open, burn his detestable removing-van, and replace it by a decent Gypsy vardo.

JOHN SAMPSON.

The Gipsy Melodies. By HUBERT DE REUTER. Wiesbaden, 1906.

This book need only be mentioned to warn bibliographers or possible purchasers that it has nothing to say about Gypsies, directly or indirectly, nor indeed any merit of any kind whatsoever.

NOTES AND QUERIES

I

AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

UNDER this title it is proposed to give from time to time short accounts of references which have appeared in ephemeral prints to events of interest in the Romani world. A beginning will be made with the period 1892-1907, when the Gypsy Lore Society slumbered, and members who have collected Gypsy press-cuttings, titles of magazine articles, passages in books, pamphlets and other publications, critiques, notices of births, deaths, marriages, customs, camps, prosecutions, and the like, during these fifteen years would greatly oblige by lending them in order that the chronicle may be made as complete as possible. Contributions should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 6 Hope Place, Liverpool, and would be returned without delay.

2

PROPOSED ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY

It has been suggested that, with the collaboration of members of the Gypsy Lore Society, an anthropological survey of the Gypsies should be undertaken, with a view to classifying them from that point of view and determining their ethnographical position among the races of India. Members who are interested in this subject, and especially those who are in a position to take part in the work, are invited to communicate with Mr. J. W. Scott Macfie, B.A., B.Sc., M.B., Ch.B., Rowton Hall, Chester.

3

ROYAL PATRONAGE OF GYPSY LORE

'On Thursday, March 26, 1896, Prof. Guido Cora, of Turin, delivered a lecture on the "Gypsies" (*Gli Zingari*), in the Aula Magna of the Collegio Romano in Rome, having been invited by the Società Palombella (founded for the higher education of women). The lecture was attended by the Queen of Italy, the Minister and the Under-Secretary of State for Public Instruction. Prof. Guido Cora gave a short but complete history of the question, dealing also with many facts about the origin, manners, and habits of the Gypsies in every part of the world. He referred in high terms to many British scholars of the subject, and to the importance of the "Gypsy Lore Society" of Edinburgh.'—[From *Nature* of April 9, 1896, p. 543.]

4

UN ILLUSTRE TSGIANOLOGUE

Un des plus illustres connaisseurs de la langue tsigane, le professeur Graziadio Ascoli, vient de mourir le 21 janvier de cette année.

Il était né à Gorizia (Istrie) le 16 juillet 1829.

Ses travaux philologiques l'ont fait considérer un des colosses de la philologie comparée au XIX^e siècle. Il était membre de toutes les Académies d'Europe, Sénateur du Royaume, et peu de jours avant sa mort l'Empereur Guillaume II. lui avait envoyé le grand cordon de l'Aigle Noir.

L'œuvre d'Ascoli est immense. Il connaissait presque toutes les langues vivantes ; indianiste et orientaliste hors ligne.

En 1865 il publia à Halle, en langue allemande, son volume *Zigeunerisches*, qui porta son nom à la célébrité. Parmi ces essais il y a un petit dictionnaire de la langue des tsiganes de l'Italie méridionale.

Tout le monde des savants célébra en 1900 le cinquantenaire académique de Graziadio Ascoli, qui tenait depuis 50 ans avec gloire la chaire universitaire. En cette occasion, notre collègue le marquis Adrien Colocci eût une curieuse idée ; il réunit plusieurs représentants des familles tsiganes qui restent encore en Italie et, au nom des Tsiganes italiens, il écrivit, en langue pure *Romani* italienne, une adresse pour saluer l'illustre vieillard.

Ascoli fut touché de recevoir ce curieux document, qui lui rappelait les études fécondes de sa jeunesse, et remercia chaleureusement le marquis Colocci et les Bohémiens de son pays.

Voici la lettre en question :

Lettre en Langue Tsigane-Italienne (Shinta-Rosengra)

CLEN RAY,—Biciavaveto ki parkaribén de kamiben da divés kátaro tumén kúrko.

Sal puró, me na gianá kámlo, ta siklordó, ta ánder lánseto tumén givibén súkare póke slabardál ta kerdí láci kerdál.

Bisim ta khadélto ta délto nini lánseto givibén o Devél, ta ke ónta ciássa durál tútra o Beng.

I Shinte tumén kaméssa, i Shinte Roséngre. Ta i Shinte ki ráttas hèna ke fóta del yon sa o kamibén kátro manússhe. Cióri, roim sa o divés for bari drumà giàna, so rakéna kána, o páni kátari kanigné pièna, ta pral o cibén kátari cik zorál súvèna, ta andrál péngri tzérga me na gianá, na keréna slekibén. Hèna pral kátaro siz-romané, vién pro vélto órgipe katáro Dèvel, ta na fóta avrá si ka yek cay gonizibén katro snoréngri, de bruni, cay stàrebe, cay bèda glanstrofi de velin yek pashè ki vaver.

I Shinte véna katári tèma, kátar o kam véla sili lèndi ki romi tátti ta zioladí. Yon durkarèna, yon i ris ta kamèlpi gianéna, i ris de sastiovà . . . pingiarèna i stárna, o czéros, ruk, ta o zi kátaro manússhen.

Léngro rakaribén si táno ta bi-pangiárdó cai gágie.—Tumen ki pìsla pingiàresselo ta kamial sikial o léngro rákrabe.—Ta kiàke i Shinte kaménto ta sar ki romanó ghenènto.

Tu puró sal, ta nini o Shinto puró sí. Me na gianá sar troyal dóadóí ander palutné iskrebe kátaro givibén de càva ráttas tilèla o khadèlpe czerosí, kiaki, mor kámer sikléscro, ke ónta tilele pral tumén puriben i ban de odá Devel so burki-gièla ánder péngro kamibén ta baré ta tikné, ta klen ta o cióro pírdó katári báro drum.

Si mor pidánk mor zi, ke da divés, dives tunen kúrko, kerela,—tumen tulonó,

ADRIANO COLOCCI.

Traduction française

ILLUSTRE SEIGNEUR,—Je vous envoie une respectueuse salutation aujourd'hui journée consacrée en votre honneur.

Vous êtes vénérable pour âge, pour bonté, pour science et dans votre longue existence vous avez écrit de beaux livres et vous avez accompli de bonnes choses.

Dieu donc vous bénisse ! et que l'Esprit du Mal se tienne loin de vous.

Vous avez aimé les Tsiganes, les Tsiganes italiens. Et les Tsiganes sont une race, qui mérite l'amour des autres hommes. Pauvres, nomades, ils parcourent toujours les grands chemins, ils mangent ce qu'ils trouvent, ils boivent l'eau des ruisseaux, ils reposent sur le lit de la terre dure et vivent dans les tentes, mais ils ne font pas du mal. Ils sont frères des européens civilisés, ils sont également créés par Dieu ; et donc ils ne devraient plus être persécutés par les policiers, par les gendarmes, les prisons et les procès continuels.

Les Tsiganes viennent de l'Orient, et comme le Soleil du Levant, ils ont une nature chaude et lumineuse. Ils disent la bonne aventure, ils connaissent l'art d'inspirer l'amour parmi les amants, l'art de guérir . . . ils connaissent les étoiles, le ciel, les plantes et le cœur humain.

Leur langage est secret et inconnu aux profanes. Vous en connaissez un peu et vous avez voulu étudier leur langue. Pour cela les Tsiganes vous sont reconnaissants et vous considèrent comme un ami.

Vous êtes vieux et le peuple Tsigane est vieux aussi. Mais, de même que sur celui-ci dans ce crépuscule de sa race descendra la bénédiction du ciel, ainsi, maître vénéré, descendra sur votre vieillesse la lumière de ce Dieu, qui unit dans son amour les grands et les petits, l'illustre savant et le pauvre vagabond du grand chemin.

C'est le souhait que dans ce jour, jour à vous dédié, soulève votre serviteur,

ADRIANO COLOCCI.

5

'EGYPT' AS A EUROPEAN PLACE-NAME

In the first volume of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, p. 53, Mr. MacRitchie notes two places in Scotland, one near Edinburgh and the other in Forfarshire, named Egypt, and inquired if other examples in European countries were known. In Buckinghamshire, on the east side of Burnham Beeches, about five miles north of Windsor, and on the edge of Farnham Common, is a place to which maps give the name of Egypt ; but the reason for this I have not been able to discover.

H. T. CROFTON.

6

SHEELERS

In a short communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (v. 53, p. 904 ; London, 1783) a correspondent, who signs himself 'H. S.,' says:—

'I found a distinct class of people in the Highlands, which they call Sheelers, but could never learn who they were, or whence they came. They seemed to move from place to place, like the wild Arabs, and were said to live independent of laws, to have the women and children in common among them, and to pay no regard to the rites of marriage.'

Could they have been *Shelta*-speaking tinkers ?

GEORGE F. BLACK.

7

MĀRÉNGRO'S ČÁI

In *Hamlet* (Act iv. scene v.), Ophelia, 'importunate, indeed distract,' says to the king: 'Well, God 'ield you! They say the owl was a baker's daughter. Lord! we know what we are, but, know not what we may be. God be at your table!' I have never had the curiosity to look up what Shakespearian commentators make of this passage, but years ago, camping with English Gypsies in Wales, where the murmur of the river and the distant hoot of the owl were sounds that lulled us to sleep, I heard for the first time from one of the Youngs a Christ-legend which explains why *mārēngro's čái* is the Gypsy name for owl.

'Once when our blessed Lord was on earth, a-going about trying people's consciences, he stopped at a baker's shop and asked de young ooman to give him a drink of water. "Could you give me a drink of water, miss," he says werry polite, "and I'd be so much obliged to you." "Oh, no!" she says, "we haven't none too much water for ourselves, and it's a werry long step to go and fetch it." "O-oh, no-oh!" says he, a-copying her (here Tarno made his voice imitate the hoot of an owl); "oo-oh, noo-oh! you goes just like a howlet, miss, and a howlet you shall be all the days of your life, and live in a hole in a rotten tree, and only come out of nights, and if you comes out in de day, all de birds in de sky shall have a peck at you."

JOHN SAMPSON.

8

HOKKANO BARO IN SCOTLAND IN 1643

1643, July 23.—Two women 'for having correspondence with ane Egyptiane quho deluded them and got moneyes from them, promising to restore the doubles and took the moneyes with hir and left nothing in their keistes [chests] bot cooles [coals] bund in ane napkin, they suffering hir to goe to their keistes, the Session thinking them to be diffident of Gods providence and giving themselves over to believe delusiones, for example to others ordeaned them to stand publictlie before the congregazione in the midst of the church.'—*St. Cuthbert's (Edinburgh) Kirk Session Register*, in MS.

GEORGE F. BLACK.

9

A SISTER SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GYPSIES

It will be news to many members of the Gypsy Lore Society that in 1902 an association was founded in Hungary with similar aims. It issued a German translation of the Romani grammar of its illustrious patron, the late Archduke Joseph of Austria, and a comprehensive work on the Gypsies of Servia, by Dr. Tihomir R. Gjorgjević of Belgrade, the second part of which appeared last autumn. The conditions of its membership, which is, in both senses, *honorary*, are very different from those of the Gypsy Lore Society; and there is ample room for both associations to exist, and flourish, without any conflict of interests. The following is a free translation of the German prospectus:—

To Students of the Gypsy

Gypsy science is an interesting study—ethnological, linguistic, and sociological. In 1888 Gypsy students combined, under the presidency of Mr. Charles G. Leland, to form the Gypsy Lore Society, which published as its organ the quarterly

Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (1888-92), with the honorary secretary, Mr. David MacRitchie, as editor. When in the year 1892 the issue of this periodical ceased, its directors adopted as successor the *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*, edited and published by Dr. Anton Herrmann, with the patronage and collaboration of his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Joseph. This paper had given special attention to Gypsy studies even before that date, and thenceforth it appeared as the organ for general Gypsy knowledge.

Since then the revival of the Gypsy Lore Society has been repeatedly suggested, but always without result, and the need of a central organ for Gypsy knowledge, which would band together the students of the subject, became ever more distinctly felt. At the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, on September 9, 1902, in consequence of a motion cordially proposed by myself, Section I. (Linguistics: general Indogermanic section) expressed a wish that the international Gypsy Lore Society should be resuscitated, and that his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Joseph should be asked to deign to propose and promote its reorganisation. Section II A. (India) adhered to this resolution, and it was confirmed by the general meeting on September 10.

In the name of the managing body of the former society, Mr. David MacRitchie gave his approval to the plan, and his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke declared that he acquiesced fully with the wishes of the congress, and entrusted the necessary arrangements to the undersigned.

In pursuance of this I have the honour to lay before all who are occupied in the scientific investigation of Gypsies, or the solution of social questions regarding them, the following scheme for their approval:—

Project for the Gesellschaft für Zigeunerforschung

I. Gypsy students combine to form a free international society which shall aim at promoting the scientific study of Gypsies and social efforts to regulate their position in all lands.

II. The members request his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Joseph to accept the position of Honorary President.

III. They entrust the conduct of the Society's business to Professor Anton Herrmann of Budapest, and constitute the journal which he publishes, *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*, with its supplement *Mitteilungen zur Zigeunerkunde*, the organ of the Association.

IV. The members pledge themselves to promote in general the aims of the Society, to communicate to the management works they produce on Gypsy subjects and other matters of Gypsy interest, and to cause their publications to be sent to the Society's organ.

V. The members pay neither fees nor contributions of any kind, and receive gratuitously and free of charge the Society's organ (*Mitteilungen zur Zigeunerkunde*) as its independent parts appear.

VI. Admission to membership of the Society is obtained by written application to the management. The application must contain: Exact address and autograph signature of the applicant; a declaration that he agrees in principle with this project; and the mention of any scientific, literary, artistic, or social work on Gypsy subjects which the applicant has done. (Applicants are particularly requested to forward copies of works they have already published.)

VII. Criticism of this scheme is invited, and will be taken into consideration when the rules are given their final form.

DR. ANTON HERRMANN,
Professor in the Staatspädagogium.

Budapest, March 2, 1903.
I., Alagút-utca, 4, I.

IO

TWO SAYINGS OF THE LEAS

Darklis Lea (of dukkeriben).—‘I only tells them a lot of hokibens. Now my sister can dukker proper. My sister was my mother’s seventh daughter. She can make and unmake luck. Seventh daughters can see more nor we can.’

Perrun Lea (to his little daughter Bethornia, whose tooth had just come out and who had thrown it on the fire).—‘You’ll get a dog’s tooth for doing that, daughter; and you won’t like that, will you? (To me) That’s an old traveller’s saying: my mother used to tell that to me.’

M. EILEEN LYSTER.

II

TWO GYPSY RIDDLES

These two riddles I heard from Edith Lea, a young gypsy girl belonging to Carliff.

‘When it was growing it had leaves on, when it was alive it had hairs on, now it is dead it has live bones in it.’ *Answer*—Clogs. (The second part of the riddle refers to the leather thongs.)

The other runs:—

‘Riddle me, riddle me, highty tight,
Where were I last Friday night,
When the clock of heaven
Struck eleven,
When the bough did bend my heart did ache,
To see what that old fox did make?’

The following was the explanation proffered:—‘There was a young girl. She had a ‘pointment to meet her young man at eleven o’clock. She went before the time, so not to keep him waiting. She got up into a tree and lay down into a bough. Her young man came. He had a pick and shovel. He digged a hole. He was going to murder her.’

This seems to be a fragment from some folk-tale. It is like a riddle or cryptic saying propounded by the heroine at the dinner where all the guests must tell a tale or sing a song. One can foresee the unmasking of the villain and his departure, amid the ‘rejoicement’ of the company to be torn apart by horses, or rolled down a hill in a spiky barrel.

M. EILEEN LYSTER.

12

THE PATRON SAINT OF GYPSIES

Dr. Edward Nicholson sends an account by M. Gaspard Galy, cut from a newspaper, of the veneration by Gypsies of Saint Sara and of the election of a Gypsy Queen during the festival of the Three Maries on May 25. The legend tells how Mary Magdalene, Mary Jacobé, mother of Saint James the Less, and Mary Salomé, mother of Saint James the Greater and of Saint John, with Sara their handmaid, Joseph of Arimathæa, Lazarus, and others, set adrift by the Jews

in an open boat without oars or provisions, drifted miraculously ashore on the island of Camargue in the Rhône delta, and became the apostles of Southern Gaul. The exposure of the relics on the eve of the festival, and the procession along the shore on the day itself, attract enormous crowds of pilgrims to the little town of Les Saintes Maries de la Mer. The spectacle is best described in M. Galy's own words :—

Saintes-Maries, 24 Mai, 1907.

La fête des Saintes-Maries n'attire pas seulement dans le pays les pèlerins des régions voisines ou des localités environnantes. Elle détermine aussi une véritable incursion de bohémiens qui viennent de toutes parts et arrivent dans leurs loqueteux équipages, après avoir parcouru souvent plusieurs centaines de lieues, pour honorer leur patronne, Sainte Sara, la fidèle servante des Saintes-Maries.

J'ai compté tantôt cent dix voitures de ces bohémiens.

Ils campent sur la plage et autour du village. Hommes, femmes et enfants grouillent pêle-mêle autour des véhicules, avec leurs chiens, leurs chevaux souf-freteux, leurs mulets ou leurs bourricots. Les uns sont chaudronniers, les autres maquignons, ceux-ci vanniers, ceux-là rétameurs. La plupart flânent ou font la sieste, le ventre au soleil, tandis que les femmes assaillent les passants pour leur dire la bonne aventure et que les enfants vous trottent sur les talons pour demander 'un petit sou.'

Il y a, parmi les bohémiens actuellement aux Saintes-Maries, des Roumains, des Hongrois, des gitanoes et un salmigondis inconcevable des types les plus divers. En réalité, tous ces gens-là se comprennent et constituent une sorte de franc-maçonnerie internationale n'ayant ni frontières ni nation.

Je passais tantôt devant un groupe au milieu duquel parlait celui qui semblait être le chef. J'étais en compagnie de M. Espelly, le maire, et j'observai que l'homme s'exprimait en catalan. Il entendit probablement, puisqu'il nous dit en un français fort correct et sans accent : 'Oui, je parle en catalan, mais je puis le faire aussi en anglais, en allemand, en italien et . . . en provençal, si vous le désirez.'

Les bohémiens viennent aux Saintes-Maries un peu comme les musulmans vont à La Mecque. Leur vénération pour Sara est très vive et c'est à celui d'entre eux qui lui apportera le plus beau cierge . . . cierge qui aura été quelquefois prélevé, au passage, dans quelque sanctuaire voisin. Mais, peu importe la provenance, puisqu'ils ne la diront pas à Sara !

La chaise de Sainte Sara est placée dans la crypte souterraine de l'église des Saintes-Maries. On l'y a exposée aujourd'hui et, jusqu'à demain, les bohémiens ne cesseront pas de la garder jalousement, en lui faisant une sorte de garde d'honneur. Cette nuit, en présence des reliques de leur sainte, les bohémiens nommeront celle qui sera leur reine jusqu'à l'année prochaine.

Saintes-Maries, le 25 Mai 1907.

Toute la nuit, l'église est restée ouverte, et les offices s'y sont succédé presque sans interruption. Gitanoes et bohémiens avaient établi une sorte de permanence autour de la chaise de leur patronne Sainte Sara, qui est placée dans la crypte souterraine, et, sous sa présidence, en quelque sorte, ils ont désigné leur reine.

L'élection a eu lieu à 3 heures du matin, et c'est une des plus vieilles femmes d'une caravane roumaine qui a été désignée.

Ce n'est pas la plus belle que choisissent les bohémiens, mais la mieux éclairée sur les choses et sur les gens.

Il m'a été dit que la nouvelle reine a parcouru le monde entier et, comme elle a vu beaucoup de choses, c'est à elle qu'il appartiendra jusqu'à l'an prochain de se prononcer sur certains différends qui lui seront soumis. Elle conseillera aussi ses

sœurs bohémiennes et les initiera aux secrets et à la pratique des incantations. Les hommes sont et demeurent étrangers à l'élection de la reine qui constitue un événement féminin.

Le camp des bohémiens semblait tout réjoui ce matin, et on pouvait y constater une animation exceptionnelle. Le pèlerinage va, en effet, prendre fin et les préparatifs de la remise en route recommencent. Les hardes sont empaquetées, arrimées sur les voitures et, tandis que les marmites bouillent sur des feux fumants alimentés par les brindilles des buissons voisins, les femmes se peignent, la marmaille court à travers les chevaux et les chiens, dans un pêle-mêle qui se renouvellera ce soir, demain !

Ces pauvres hères, dont c'est le sort de toujours courir à travers le monde n'ont pour abri que la tente de leur véhicule. La place est restreinte, car il faut traîner sa maison, et 'on dort' tout côté à côté,—le père, la mère et les enfants—dans une confusion qui stupéfie.

Ce matin, les enfants et les femmes sont plus ardents à la poursuite des pèlerins, auxquels ils demandent un petit sou dont l'aumône leur assurera bonheur, longue vie et prospérité. Ce sont de véritables 'lingastes' qui s'attachent à vous et dont on ne se débarrasse, momentanément, qu'à la condition de s'exécuter. . . .

Les petits bohémiens, afin de toucher le cœur et atteindre la bourse plus sûrement et témoigner de leur foi sincère, vous accablent de : 'Je vous salue Marie, pleine de grâce !' et se précipitent sur vos pas en baisant la terre.

Impossible de résister à de tels assauts, et quand on en est enfin délivré on a la maligne satisfaction de constater qu'ils sont livrés à d'autres.

Les femmes disent la bonne aventure, et pour que l'on soit généreux elles prolongent l'espoir de votre existence, vous assurent contre les maladies et mettent en déroute ceux de vos ennemis qui 'conspirent dans l'ombre . . .' Cela a coûté tantôt 2 fr. 50 à un de nos aimables juges consulaires de Marseille, juste à point arrivé en automobile pour tomber dans les bras de la romanichelle qui venait de m'en administrer pour 40 centimes. Je dois reconnaître qu'elle m'en a tout juste promis pour mon argent. . . .

In reply to questions as to the antiquity of this custom, and as to why the Gypsies should have singled out St. Sara as their special patroness, M. Aug. Ribon, Curé at Saintes-Maries, explains that, according to the legend, St. Sara was an Egyptian, doubtless a slave enfranchised by her mistresses, and that the original chapel was built by the inhabitants of Camargue (among whom were the descendants of the Iberians) on the site of an ancient pagan temple dedicated to Mithra, god of fire and water. 'Dans le midi de la France,' he proceeds, 'une certaine catégorie de Bohémiens est appelée "Caraques." On les croit, généralement, les descendants des Ibères, anciens habitants de la Camargue. Les Bohémiens sont généralement Chrétiens et viennent aux Saintes-Maries pour y vénérer Sainte Sara. Chaque année ils présentent quelques enfants pour les faire baptiser. Les Bohémiens Caraques viennent surtout pour passer deux jours sur leur ancien sol, dans leur ancien temple, et paraissent avoir un culte spécial pour "le feu et l'eau." C'est dans la Crypte qu'ils élisent leur roi et leur reine, qu'ils font les fiançailles. En 1895, les 24 et 25 Mai, ce sont eux qui ont été les plus nombreux, avec les Gitanes ; en 1894, les plus nombreux étaient les Zingaris. Cette année, ce sont les Bohémiens Hongrois qui ont dominé. Il y en a chaque année, des uns ou des autres, 500, 600 et même 700. Ils arrivent dès le 23 Mai, même le 22, en grand nombre, et quittent les Saintes-Maries le 25, immédiatement après la montée des saintes chasses. Que ce soit les uns ou les autres, ils viennent aux Saintes-Maries avec de bonnes intentions, que je puis appeler "pieuses." Viennent-ils depuis longtemps ? La tradition dit qu'il en a été toujours ainsi. Je crois, ainsi que le témoignent de nombreux "ex voto" qu'ils viennent depuis 1450 environ. Deux officiers allemands venus en touristes, il y aura bientôt deux ans, ont voulu me

dire que la Bohème avait reçu une colonie Egyptienne. Or Sainte Sara était, je l'ai dit, Egyptienne. Les Gypsies, comme on les appelle en Angleterre, tirent leur nom "d'Egypt." C'est incontestable que, quelle que soit la région d'où ils viennent, ils viennent pour Sainte Sara, et en retournant, tous portent dans leur roulotte comme un talisman, le cierge qui a brûlé devant les reliques de Sainte Sara et devant sa statue.

Here is an interesting opportunity for research. To examine the votive offerings in the crypt, and collect from the lips of the Romani pilgrims themselves their own explanation of the honour in which they hold this saint. And in conclusion, a hint. There was another, and later, St. Sara, who in the early fourth century was an abbess in *Egypt*.

13

SAR, 'WITH'

Sar, as a preposition meaning 'with,' occurs in Borrow's *Zincali*, in his English-Gypsy *Romano Lavo-Lil*, in the *English Gypsy Songs* of Leland, Palmer and Tuckey, and in Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*. In spite of all these examples I am convinced that no such word ever existed in any dialect of Romani. This, of course, is very far from saying that the word was deliberately fabricated by any one of these collectors. Every one who has ever tried to compile a Romani vocabulary and has sought to ascertain whether words recorded by others were familiar to his own Gypsies also must, as his grip of the language increased, have been struck by his early tendency to self-deception and the ease with which it was possible to fall into error when questioning Gypsies as to their language. This was certainly my own experience. To give an example of what I mean, Borrow gives *talleno* for 'woollen'; and in my 'prentice days I corroborated this by recording it in the sense of 'flannel,' having laboriously elicited from Kenza Boswell the confession that he would use the phrase *talleni çoxa* for 'flannel petticoat.' But the word (which is an adjective regularly formed from *talé*) really means 'under,' and *talleni çoxa* is merely 'under-skirt.'

Now to return to *sar*. We may note that the word is first recorded by Borrow, and 'Lavengro's' imperfect acquaintance with word-formation often led him to create such ghost-words as haunt the pages of his *Lavo-Lil*. Thus on p. 110 we find 'It is my Dovvel's kerrimus, and we can't help *asarlus*.' 'It is my God's doing, and we can't help *at all*.' Borrow here, mistaking *helpasâr lés* ('help it') for *help asarlus*, believes that *asarlus* is a word meaning 'at all,' and under this impression inserts it in his vocabulary (p. 18), and uses it in the same sense in one of his own Romani compositions (p. 110). In the same way, concluding that *-engro* meant 'fellow,' he uses it as a separate word.

Similarly, Borrow hearing in English Gypsy the word *mensa*, 'with us,' and knowing that *men* means 'us,' concluded that *sa* (or *sar*) means 'with,' and could be used either as preposition or post-preposition. Later, when dealing with the Spanish dialect, transferring, according to a fashion with which all his readers are familiar, a word from one dialect to another, he gives *sar* or *sat* as Spanish Gypsy for 'with'; though, in the genuine Gitano compositions printed by him, the Spanish 'con' is the word always used. *Sar* does not occur at all in Leland's first and most reliable book, *The English Gypsies*. The exigencies of verse and the desire to be as deep as possible probably account for its presence in his *English Gypsy Songs*, which are written in an English 'lengua d'afficion.' Lastly, we find *sar* in the trustworthy vocabulary of Smart and Crofton, a fact which would make

one hesitate to reject it were it not that no examples of its use are given in the grammar or vocabulary, and that its single occurrence in the 'specimens' appears to be due to a quite intelligible error.¹

I have indicated the weakness of the evidence pointing to the existence of the word *sar* as a preposition meaning 'with'; I will now add some strong reasons against it. Until well into the nineteenth century, as the specimens of Bright and others make sufficiently plain, the old inflections were still used and the idea of association was always expressed, as it still is in Welsh and Continental Gypsy, by the instrumental case formed by adding the suffix *-sa* to the stem of the oblique or accusative. But it would be an incredible linguistic development that on the break-up of the case-endings the English Gypsies deliberately converted the suffix into a preposition; or that a people who possess so little power of abstraction that they are commonly unable to think of a word except as part of a sentence, or even to think of a sentence except in relation to some actual fact or occurrence, should have been able to deduce from such forms as *grensa*, *chasa*, *romensa*, *penisa*, the general concept of *-sa* as the equivalent of 'with.' As well could one imagine them using *-iben* for 'the quality of,' or *-ava* for 'me,' *-esa* for 'thou,' because these personal endings have this force in the conjugation of the verb. Still more extraordinary would it be if the Spanish Gypsies also had hit upon the same device. Let *sar* be retained if the poets require it—*se non e vero e ben trovato*—but let us recognise it as a Romani Rai's, not a Romani-čal's lav.

JOHN SAMPPSON.

14

GRĀNI, 'MARE'

The other day, on the outskirts of Oswestry, not far from Offa's Dyke, I came upon a Pembrokeshire Gypsy named Llewellyn Lee, who, to emphasise his poverty, told me that he possessed neither *grais*, nor *grānis*, nor *mailas*. I suppose the word *grāni* (pronounced *grawnie*) is regularly formed from *grai*, just as the more usual *grasni*, from the Continental Gypsy *gras* or *grast*. But I have never before heard *grāni* from an English Gypsy, and it may be equally new to other members of the Society. Paspoti has *grani*, beside *grastni* and *grasni*, the former being the Nomadic and the two latter the Sedentary forms of the word. KISH.

¹ See Smart and Crofton, p. 273, in the 'Bengauler,' a piece printed to illustrate the modern or broken dialect of the Romani:—

We were jalin' along the drom with our vardos, and I was the shorenegro and mandi dik'd a moosh beshin' apré a stigher, and his moooi was kaulo pensa Romanichal, and he pen'd to mandi, 'Sar shan, pal?' and I dik'd at lesti, and yov kek pen'd variso till some gaujos sar lenghi's warios had jal'd past, and then I said, 'Are you a Romanichal?'

i.e. 'We were going along the road with our waggons, and I was the chief, and saw a man sitting on a gate, and his face was dark like a Gypsy. He said to me, "How are you, mate?" I looked at him, but he said nothing till some Gentiles with their carts had gone past, and then I said, "Are you a Gypsy?"'

It will be observed that in the earlier part of this passage the same Gypsy uses the English word 'with,' and we may presume that 'sar lenghi's warios' is merely a mis-hearing of 'wi' sor lenghi's warios,' *i.e.* 'with all their carts.' I may add that neither Wests Boswell nor any other Gypsy whom I ever met used the word 'sar' in this sense.



JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. I

OCTOBER 1907

No. 2

I.—ALEXANDRE PASPATI

ONE glance at the portrait of Dr. Alexandre G. Paspatis, which by the kindness of Mrs. H. N. Paspatis, of Liverpool, we include among the illustrations of this number, will dispel for ever any illusion that he was no more than an indefatigable collector, bartering medicaments for words, and confessing sardonically that money was the principal source of the learning which enabled him to add his page to the great historical volume of a people whose only monument is their tongue. Here we have, patent and convincing, the benevolent, humane, and humorous face of the heroic physician who braved the revolting squalor of the tents, conquering by gentle patience the mistrust of their occupants, and became the sympathetic friend who could appreciate—what no gentile of that region could understand—the pride of the Gypsy who, in spite of rags, filth, nakedness, and poverty, has no shame for his origin, but, on the contrary, mocks and curses all other races, in whose life and pleasures he has no desire to share, and to whose suffocating civilisation he obstinately refuses to bend. This is the Paspatis whose marvellous insight enabled him to condense into those few poetic lines which run like a vein of pity through his preface and introduction, all that there is of independence and misery, of sadness and contentment, in the existence of these nomads who find no rest but the grave, and without tears enshroud their dead.

II.—GYPSY NOBLES

By DAVID MACRITCHIE

IN the many attempts made to solve the Gypsy problem, one phase of the question has so far received scant attention. Philological enquiry has accomplished much; historical research has placed many facts before us; and something also has been done by anthropology. But the social and political condition of the Gypsies of past centuries has yet to be seriously studied. The terms 'social and political' may seem at the first glance strangely ill-chosen. We know from numerous references that, in certain stated times and countries, the social position of a Gypsy was the lowest of all. From a passage quoted in the *Notes and Queries* section of our present number, it appears that, in the year 1673, those Gypsies who came to the famous baths of Stubu, in Hungary, were ranked not only below the peasantry, but below the beggars—more degrading still, below people afflicted with a foul disease. Similar instances will readily occur to many of our readers, all denoting that the social position of the Gypsies was that of despised and miserable outcasts.

But the question is too complex to be summarily settled by accepting this conclusion as absolute. We get other glimpses of them which present them to us in a very different light. There may be various reasons for this. One passage, for example, may relate to the fifteenth century and another to the eighteenth. Three hundred years is a long period of time; quite long enough for a race to rise in or to fall. Then, again, although two or more references may synchronize, they may be associated with different countries; and the condition of Gypsies in one country might differ greatly from that of their contemporary kindred in another. Further, and this has an anthropological as well as a historical bearing, many people have lived as Gypsies who were not of Gypsy blood. There is abundant evidence of this fact; and it is a fact of much importance. At present, however, I wish to consider it only in its relation to some of the many titular dukes, counts, earls, and knights who figure in our Gypsy annals.

I may begin with an extract from George Borrow. It is difficult to get away from Borrow in matters of this kind. He had many defects, but he was a great pioneer. Borrow, then, tells us how 'Martin del Rio, in his "*Tractatus de Magia*," speaks of the

Gypsies and their Counts to the following effect: "When, in the year 1584, I was marching in Spain with the regiment, a multitude of these wretches were infesting the fields. . . . At this time they had a Count, a fellow who spoke the Castilian idiom with as much purity as if he had been a native of Toledo; he was acquainted with all the ports of Spain, and all the difficult and broken ground of the provinces. He knew the exact strength of every city, and who were the principal people in each, and the exact amount of their property; there was nothing relating to the State, however secret, that he was not acquainted with; nor did he make a mystery of his knowledge, but publicly boasted of it."¹ Borrow further quotes a passage from the *Alonso* of Gerónimo de Alcalá, belonging to the same period. Alonso describes his capture by two Gitanos in a mountainous part of Spain. "Then one of them, lisping a little, after the Gitano fashion, told me that I must go with them to their encampment to speak to my lord the Conde. . . . They presented me to the Count, a person whom they all respected, and who was the judge and governor of this disorderly society."² "With the Counts rested the management and direction of these remarkable societies," observes Borrow on another page of the same volume (p. 60); "it was they who determined their marches, countermarches, advances, and retreats; what was to be attempted or avoided; what individuals were to be admitted into the fellowship and privileges of the Gitanos, or who were to be excluded from their society; they settled disputes and sat in judgment over offences."

One is led to infer, from the absence of any remark to the contrary, that the two 'counts' specified in the above paragraph were of the same racial type as their followers. It is probable that in a number of cases the leader of the band was of Gypsy blood. Such a circumstance, however, was due to accidental causes, of time and locality. For some, at least, of the countries of Europe took special care that Gypsies should not be ruled by Gypsies. It would be reasonable to assume, from a few known instances, that all European countries followed this course. Because there are many indications that, on the whole, the various European states acted in concert in their treatment of the Gypsies. Not quite simultaneously, it may be, by half a century or so of difference, and not always according to the same method; nevertheless, with a general unanimity of sentiment and action. So far

¹ *The Zingali*, London, 1841; vol. i. pp. 57-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

as regards the practice of selecting non-Gypsies to act as Gypsy 'counts,' we have positive information from certain countries, some of the statements having been supplied by members of the Gypsy Lore Society to the early series of the Society's Journal. No evidence can be clearer than that which relates to Poland and Lithuania.

'From the sixteenth century till the close of the eighteenth the Chancellor Royal nominated a *Regent of the Gypsies* from among the Polish gentry,' writes the Chevalier de Zieliński (vol. ii. p. 239). 'These regents were the supreme judges for the Gypsies of the district; they gave laws to the Gypsies; they had the right of punishing the Gypsies, and of levying taxes on them. King Casimir Jagellon took the Gypsies under his protection, and was desirous of settling them in colonies. In the eighteenth century the Gypsies lived at Rajgrad, Bar, Mir, Murachwa, Barglov, and Pinsk. In the eighteenth century the Princes Radziwill took the Gypsies under their protection, and on 22nd July 1778 Prince Stanislas Radziwill nominated a Lithuanian gentleman, John Gryf-Marcinkowski, as "Regent of the Gypsies." This nomination was confirmed the same year by King Stanislas August Poniatowski for Poland and Lithuania, with the right of exacting taxes from each individual Gypsy. Marcinkowski was a severe and despotic regent. He dressed as a Polish gentleman: a *zupon* (long coat), a *kontusz* (a cloak with long open sleeves, which were thrown over the back), a *kolpak* on his head, and in his hand he always carried a *buzdygan* (a species of marshal's baton with a large knob at the end), and at his girdle a *bizun* (horsewhip). The last of the Gypsy Regents in Poland and Lithuania was a certain Gryf-Zuamirowski, a Lithuanian gentleman, who proved very severe.'¹

The date when Count Zuamirowski flourished is not specified; but Grellmann speaks of a Gypsy vayvode in Courland, in the full exercise of his power, at the time when Grellmann was writing his book² (c. 1787). Grellmann describes him³ as 'not only very much respected by his own people, but even by the Courland nobility; he is esteemed a man of high rank, and is frequently to be met with

¹ For information on this subject Paul Bataillard (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 266 note) specially refers to pp. 127-38 of M. T. Narbutt's *Rys historyczny ludu Cygáńskiego* (Historical Sketch of the Gypsy People), Vilna, 1830.

² *Dissertation on the Gipsies*, the title given in the English translation by Matthew Raper (London, 1787), the edition to which the reader is referred for passages quoted in this paper.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. ii.

at entertainments and card parties in the first families, where he is always a welcome guest. The name of the present one,' he adds, 'is George or (according to the Courland pronunciation) Gurge. His dress is uncommonly rich, in comparison of others of his kind, generally silk in summer, and constantly velvet in winter.'

It will be seen, then, that the Gypsies of Poland and Lithuania, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, were ruled over by genuine counts, men of Polish and Lithuanian stock, who would be recognised as nobles, or perhaps as lesser nobles or gentry, by every herald in Europe. And yet these 'Regents of the Gypsies' would be spoken of colloquially, and in any casual reference, as 'Gypsy counts.' The expression is ambiguous, and yet it is not incorrect. They were not only Polish or Lithuanian counts; they were also counts of the Gypsies. It was to them that the Gypsies of those territories looked up as their rulers and law-givers; and it was to them that the Gypsies paid their taxes—an important consideration. Our authority does not tell us whether they delegated their power, in some degree, to local leaders or chiefs. If so, these latter may easily have been of Gypsy blood. And it is quite possible that they were also styled 'counts' by their own followers. This, we shall see, was actually the position in Hungary. Nevertheless, it must always be kept in view that the supreme count of the Gypsies of Poland and Lithuania, during the period specified, was a member of the nobility, or at any rate of the *petite noblesse*, of Europe.

From Hungarian sources we obtain similar testimony. Our information is partly derived from Professor Emil Thewrewk de Ponor's *Literary Guide*, which forms Part II. of the Archduke Josef's *Gypsy Grammar* (*Czigány Nyelvatan*), published in 1888. Or, rather, from a synopsis of the *Literary Guide*, which its author contributed to our Journal in July 1890. As one of the many Europeans who cannot read Magyar, I have to be content with this synopsis until a full translation is furnished by some of our Hungarian members. What the author tells us is that pages 274 to 277 of his *Guide* deal with 'The Political Organisation of the Gypsies'; 'The Title of the Captain in Hungary, *Vajda*'; 'The Symbol of the Gypsy Captain' and 'Goblet of the Captain'; and, lastly, 'The Gypsy Captaincy as Office of State.' Here we gain a wider view of the question than is afforded by the account from Poland. For our Hungarian authority asserts or implies that the Gypsy captaincy became an office of state in later times, having

been originally an office belonging exclusively to the Gypsies themselves. 'As in Poland,' he informs us, 'the Gypsy kingship was *later* conferred on nobles. With us the Gypsy captaincy was vested in the nobility of Transylvania and Hungary. The vayvodeship or captaincy of the Gypsies has long been with us an office of state, combined with which were *iura praeerogativa, fructus et emolumenta*, which the Crown bestowed on distinguished persons as a reward of merit, but not on Gypsies. In Transylvania we find sometimes one, sometimes two such captaincies. In Hungary there have been four—one on each side of the Danube, and one on each side of the Theiss.' He adds that pages 279 to 284 of his *Guide* reproduce documents confirming these statements. Other documents relating to the captaincy of the Gypsies are cited at page 289. Finally, he observes on another page: 'We have already spoken of the vayvodeship of the Gypsies. We may add here: after the death of Tlosvay, Siegmund Szontag applied for the post of vayvode. His application, which illustrates instructively the captaincy or vayvodeship of the Gypsies, was of the following purport; see page 283. It is written in Latin. The first answer to his application was that the office would not be filled up again; page 284.'

When these passages in the *Czigány Nyelvatan* have been examined afresh, by some one of our members to whom that work is accessible, and who will translate the Magyar paragraphs into a West-European language, additional light will undoubtedly be thrown upon the question. In the meantime we may examine Professor Emil de Thewrewk's abstract of the facts.

We find, then, that in Hungary and Transylvania, presumably during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries (as in Poland and Lithuania), there were five or six contemporaneous vayvodes or counts of the Gypsies who were not of Gypsy race, but were distinguished Hungarians and Transylvanians upon whom the Crown conferred these appointments as a reward of merit. Consequently, any reference to Gypsy vayvodes, during the period in question, must be understood to denote non-Gypsies. Their titles, moreover, far from being spurious, were as genuine and legitimate as any in Europe.

But the most significant fact of all is embodied in the statement that those eminent personages received their Gypsy vayvodeship *as a reward*. It was a reward beyond a doubt, for the office carried with it prerogative rights, revenue, and incidental emolu-

ments. Herein lies a palpable explanation of one of the puzzles of Gypsy history. As long as those desirable appointments existed, it was to the interest of all actual and prospective vayvodes of the Gypsies that the Gypsies themselves should continue in the land. Without them, there would be no vayvodeship, and no rich revenues to be drawn. It is obvious, therefore, that the presence of the Gypsies in their country was advantageous to a not inconsiderable section of the upper class of Hungary and Transylvania. A parallel case is afforded by Poland and Lithuania. For there, also, the non-Gypsy ruler of the Gypsies had the right of levying taxes on his subjects, and in this respect he appears to have stretched his power to the utmost. Consequently, over a large tract of Central Europe the continuance of the Gypsies was strongly desired by a certain class of non-Gypsies. On the other hand, the great majority of the population regarded the Gypsies as an intolerable burden, and would fain have got rid of them altogether. This, also, was the view of the very governments who maintained the State appointments of Gypsy captaincies—a curious paradox. In 1557 and 1558 Poland enacted that the Gypsies should be hunted from the country, and that any one giving them concealment should be punished as an accomplice.¹ And yet, for the next two centuries, this same Poland continued to appoint regents of the Gypsies, who, in virtue of their office, had the right to regard each individual Gypsy as a source of income, and who therefore desired that the race should be increased rather than diminished or expelled. These conflicting interests were quite irreconcilable, and thus we find that for many generations one side was engaged in passing the most severe laws against the Gypsies, while the other side was doing its best to reduce these laws to a dead letter. This observation is not intended to apply to Poland only, for the more we look into the matter, the more we realise that the position of Poland was by no means singular.

Of the Gypsy vayvodes of Hungary and Transylvania Grellmann furnishes some interesting details, which are not included in the account given above. He explains that there were formerly two different kinds of vayvodes. 'Each petty tribe had its own leader; besides which they had four superior vayvodes, of their own caste,² on both sides the Danube and Theiss; whose usual residences were at Raab, Lewentz, Szathmar, and Kaschau:

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 239.

² Not of their own race, as the sequel shows.

to these the smaller vayvodes were accountable. . . . But the Gypsies in Hungary and Transylvania were so circumstanced as not to be at liberty to choose any except the small vayvodes of each tribe from their own people, but not the superior vayvodes. These superintendents, to whom the Gypsies in many districts were subject, have existed till lately (there is still one in Transylvania, who has jurisdiction over the gold-washers); but they were appointed by the Court, and always selected from the Hungarian nobility. It was by no means a despicable appointment, as each Gypsy was bound to pay him a guilder annually, of which one-half was demanded at Easter, the other half at Michaelmas. In order to render the levying this tax more certain, the magistrates in all towns, cities, and villages were ordered to be assisting to the collectors, where necessary; to protect them also from any violence that might be offered by the Gypsies. These superior vayvodes are now no longer appointed, except the single one in Transylvania. But the Gypsies still continue the custom among themselves of dignifying certain persons, whom they make heads over them and call by the exalted Slavonian title, vayvode. Every one is capable of being elected who is of a family descended from a former vayvode. The particular distinguishing mark of dignity is a large whip hanging over the shoulder.'¹

Among many other documents of interest, Grellmann prints² two commissions by Queen Isabella of Hungary, granted in the year 1557. Both refer to Transylvania only, are written in Latin, and are in cognate terms. The opening salutation of the first document shows that it is addressed to every official in Transylvania: 'Isabella Dei Gratia Regina Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, etc. Fidelibus nostris universis & singulis, Spectabilibus, Magnificis, Egregiis, Nobilibus, item Prudentibus, & circumspectis iudicibus, civibus civitatum, oppidorum & villarum, & aliorum quorumcunque locorum præfectis, cunctis etiam aliis cujus cunque status & conditionis hominibus, in Regno nostro Transilvaniæ, præsentium notitiam habituris, salutem & gratiam.' The second letter is similarly addressed. The first is in favour of two of Isabella's courtiers, Caspar Nagy and Francis Balatsi (styled the Honourable Lord Balatsi de Kiskend in the second letter), who have been appointed Vayvodes of the Cigáns of Transylvania. The second is in favour of Balatsi only, whose office is described as 'officium Wayvodatus Pharaonum ac Cziganorum ubique in ambitu harum partium Regni nostri

¹ *Dissertation*, pp. 54-6.

² At pp. 197-8.

Transilvaniæ.' The gist of the letters is that all those officials are commanded to aid the vayvodes, if necessary, in collecting the tribute due by the Gypsies, according to old custom, to their vayvodes. That, on the other hand, the vayvodes were in the habit of extorting more than their due, when possible, is seen by two supplications of 1558 and 1560, made to Queen Isabella and her son and successor John II.,¹ on the part of the Gypsies themselves: 'quia Czigani per Vaivodas eorum variis taxationibus et exactionibus extraordinariis, contra veterem consuetudinem ipsorum infestantur.' The supplicants therefore ask the sovereign to remind the Gypsy vayvodes that they are only entitled to exact one florin yearly from each of their subjects, in half-yearly payments.

In all of these documents of 1557-60 the condition of things dealt with is referred to as of ancient standing. We must therefore assume that it had its beginning long before the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, there is positive evidence that the Hungarian Gypsies, or a section of them, were governed in the year 1423 by a vayvode whom the Emperor Sigismund designated 'our faithful [subject].' This letter also is printed by Grellmann.² It is addressed to all the officials, high and low, throughout the Empire, and begins thus: 'Sigismundus Dei gratia Romanorum Rex semper Augustus, ac Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, &c., Rex. Fidelibus nostris universis Nobilibus, Militibus Castellanis, Officialibus, Tributariis, civitatibus liberis, oppidis et eorum iudicibus in Regno et sub Dominio nostro constitutis et existentibus salutem cum dilectione.' It then recites how 'our faithful [subjects], Ladislaus, vayvode of the Cigáns, with others belonging to him (cum aliis ad ipsum spectantibus), had come into the imperial presence, 'here in Zips' (huc in Sepus), and had humbly laid their request before the emperor, who decided to grant them the privilege asked. The emperor, therefore, by this letter, commands all those to whom it is addressed, on their allegiance, to favour and protect (favere ac conservare) the said Count Ladislaus and the Cigáns who are subject to him (Ciganos sibi subjectos). 'And if any trouble or disturbance should arise among the Cigáns, then none of you whomsoever, but Count Ladislaus alone, shall have the power of judging and acquitting.' It is further commanded that this letter, when presented, shall always be returned after perusal to the person presenting it.

The way in which we came to know the terms of this in-

¹ Printed by Grellmann, *Dissertation*, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, 245.

teresting letter is that it was presented at Ratisbon in the summer of 1424, the year after it was written ; and that Andreas, presbyter of Ratisbon, made a copy of it in his journal, which records the local events of the years 1422-7. In that journal the chronicler states that this is one of several such letters carried by the Gypsies. He calls them '*Cingari*, commonly called *Cigāwnār*' (Zigeuner), and he adds that they pitched their tents in the fields, and were not allowed to inhabit towns. He also states that they were much given to stealing. It was popularly believed at Ratisbon that they had come to spy out the land. One statement of the presbyter to which special attention is drawn by Bataillard¹ is that those Cingari or Zigeuner were all natives of Hungary (*hæc gens à partibus Ungariæ oriunda*). They were therefore born subjects of the emperor.² Had it not been for the imperial protection, indeed, their thieving propensities would have received a severer check than the mere prohibition from living in the town.

It is not to be supposed, of course, that that prohibition extended to Count Ladislaus himself, who was presumably lodged like any other man of quality. A marked distinction of this kind is recorded at Bologna in 1422. For, on the 18th of July in that year, as we learn from the Chronicles of Bologna,³ a certain '*duca di Egitto*,' named Duke Andrea, with a following of about a hundred men, women, and children '*of his country*,' arrived in that town. The duke lodged at the *Albergo del Rè*, or *King's Inn*, but his followers were quartered within and without the gate known as the *Porta di Galiera*, and they also settled themselves under the porticoes. A fortnight later Duke Andrea and his company set out for Rome.

From the fact that his wife was a fortune-teller, that he was styled '*a duke of Egypt*,' and that his people belonged to '*his country*,' the racial position of Duke Andrea is open to question. That he was of Gypsy blood is far from improbable. Nevertheless, he may have been a Venetian noble. Venice, then a great and powerful state, was paramount in the island of Corfu. And we are told by the Marquis Adriano Colocci that in Corfu there was a fief or barony of the Cingani which was held by successive Venetians

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 340.

² The Ratisbon account is preserved in the *Rerum Boicarum Scriptores* of Oefelius, Augsburg, 1763, vol. i. p. 21, whence it has been copied by F. Dyrland : *Tatere og Natmandsfolk i Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1872, p. 365.

³ See Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, xviii. 611-12. Dyrland reproduces the passage at pp. 362-4 of his *Tatere og Natmandsfolk*.

during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. He cites also a document of the year 1692 which was issued by a Venetian baron who was *Giudice e Capitano delli Acingani*, that is to say, Judge and Captain of the Gypsies of Corfu. From these statements it is quite evident that here, on the Adriatic, there was the same political (as distinguished from racial) relationship between Gypsies and their counts that then existed in Central Europe. It is quite possible that Duke Andrea held the Gypsy barony in Corfu, and that he and his followers had come from no greater distance than that island. Of the side issue raised by the use of the name 'Egypt,' I must defer consideration to a future paper.

From what has been said, then, it appears that throughout a wide region of Europe, from the Baltic and the Gulf of Riga to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, the Gypsies were formerly the subjects of certain noblemen, not of Gypsy race, who were appointed to their positions by the sovereign of their country, or by a delegate, as in the case of the Chancellor Royal of Poland. That a different state of things existed in Western Europe seems unlikely. I shall not attempt at present to examine the claims of the many titular nobles who figure in mediæval Gypsy annals, and whose position is not so clearly defined as in most of the preceding instances.¹ But there is one instance, that of the ruler of the Gypsies in Scotland, which is specially deserving of attention.

In the year 1540 this personage ruled over the Scottish Gypsies in virtue of powers formally delegated to him by the King of Scotland. The document conferring those powers upon him is thus described in the *Register of the Privy Seal* (vol. xiii. fol. 83): 'Preceptum litere Johannis Wanne filii et heredis quondam Johannis Fall minoris Egipti comitis ac domini et magistri Egiptiorum infra regnum Scotie existentium Dando sibi sibi potestatem predictos Egiptios ad sibi obediendum et parendum plectere et punire, &c. Apud Sanctiandream xxvi die mensis Maij Anno Domini j^m v^c xl^o. per signaturam.'

Here, once more, we have the same situation as in Central

¹ A mass of material relating to the Gypsy nobles of the fifteenth century will be found in the late Paul Bataillard's articles contributed to the Old Series of our Journal, vols. i. and ii. In these articles Bataillard shows an infinity of patient investigation, and future writers on this subject will find his store of facts and references invaluable. For a synopsis of many of these facts I may also refer to my article on 'The People of Little Egypt' in the *Monthly Review* (London: Murray) of May 1905.

Europe: the sovereign recognising the right of a certain individual to govern all the Gypsies in the country. In this case John Wann, *alias* Fall or Faw (the names are interchangeable) is styled a count and lord of Lesser Egypt, as well as Master of the Egyptians dwelling within the kingdom of Scotland. That is to say, his title is not a Scottish one. But he bears an old Scottish surname, and his father was resident in Scotland before him. The designation of 'Egypt' is really a minor affair, as we shall see afterwards.

In order that the situation may be still better understood, I shall quote somewhat fully from a document which the King of Scotland had signed three months earlier than that given above. It begins: 'James by the grace of God King of Scots, To our Sheriffs of Edinburgh principal and within the constabulary of Haddington, Berwick, &c. &c. &c., Bailies of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, and their Deputies, Provosts, Aldermen, and Bailies of our burghs and cities of Edinburgh, Haddington, &c. &c. &c., and to all other Sheriffs, &c., within our realm,—Greeting. Forasmuch as it is humbly meant and shown to us by our lovit¹ John Faw, lord and earl of Little Egypt, That whereas he obtained our Letters under our Great Seal directed to you . . . and all and sundry others having authority within our realm to assist him in execution of justice upon his company and folks conform to the laws of Egypt, and in punishing all them that rebel against him'; nevertheless, a certain Sebastian and others had cast off their allegiance to their lawful leader, although the latter possessed 'the said Sebastian's obligation, made in Dunfermline before our Master of the Household that he and his company should remain with him and in no wise depart from him, as the same bears.' In direct opposition to this, 'the said Sebastian, by sinister and wrong information, false relation and circumvention of us [the king], has purchased our writings discharging him and the remainder of the persons above written, his accomplices and partakers, of the said John's company.' For these causes, 'we charge you straitly, and command that, incontinent these our Letters seen, you and each one of you within the bounds of your office command and charge all our lieges' that no aid should be given to Sebastian and his accomplices against 'John Faw, their Lord and master,' to whom the authorities are commanded to lend their prisons, stocks, and fetters, 'so that the said John have no cause of complaint here-

¹ A contraction of 'beloved,' and used in legal phraseology to denote a loyal subject.

upon in time coming, nor to resort again to us [the king] to that effect.'

This last statement is perhaps the most significant of all. It is a distinct admission that if the King of Scotland had not taken steps to uphold the authority of the Gypsy count, the latter would have had legitimate 'cause of complaint,' with the right to appeal again to the king for aid. Moreover, even the recalcitrant Sebastian did not attempt to separate himself and his followers from the jurisdiction of their recognised leader until after he had (although by misrepresentation) obtained written warrant to do so from the officers of the Crown. But the whole document bristles with interesting points. To consider these in detail is beyond the scope of this paper. Enough has been cited to show that in sixteenth-century Scotland, as in Hungary and other countries of Europe, the captaincy of the Gypsies was a State office, carrying with it obligations on the part of the Crown as well as on the part of the Gypsy captain or count.

In this Scottish instance, however, the racial position of the Gypsy leader is not clearly defined. The king styles him his 'lovit,' or loyal subject; but further evidence is lacking. Indeed, the references to 'the laws of Egypt,' and his designation of a 'lord and earl of Little Egypt' might, at the first glance, seem to place him at once among people of Gypsy blood. Consideration of this question may well be deferred to another opportunity. There are many other instances equally dubious. The truth of the statement that Gypsy nobles were of two kinds has been sufficiently illustrated in the foregoing pages. In Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Venice, the supreme rulers of the Gypsies were not themselves of Gypsy race. Presumably, they could not even speak Romanes; at any rate, at the date of their appointment to office. But the subordinate chiefs, elected apparently by the Gypsies themselves, may be supposed to have possessed the *kálo rat*, or dark blood, although perhaps in varying degrees. It may even have happened that the son of a non-Gypsy count, by a Gypsy mother, was permitted by the authorities to succeed his father in the office of supreme ruler.

Swabia furnishes us with two examples similar to that of the Scottish Lord and Earl of Little Egypt in 1540. That is to say, in all three we have the recognition of a foreign *locality*, combined with indications that the personages in question were not actually foreigners. The Swabian examples have been often quoted by

others, but it is desirable to repeat the quotation in this place. Our authority is the Swabian chronicler Crusius, who, in his *Annales Suevici* (Frankfort, 1596, vol. ii., pp. 384, 510), tells us how, in the year 1445, 'on St. Sebastian's Even, there died the high-born lord, Lord Panuel, duke in Little Egypt, and lord of Hirschhorn in the same land.' And further how, at Pfortzen, in 1498, 'there died the well-born Lord John, Free Count out of Little Egypt, to whose soul may God be gracious and merciful.' Emblazoned on the tomb of Lord Panuel are his arms—a golden eagle crowned, and for crest, above a crowned helmet, a stag-horn erect. Crusius records that this monument is placed in a little monastery beside Schloss Fürstenau, a castle of the Counts of Erbach, in the Odenwald; and that the epitaph is in these words:—'Als man zahlt nach Christus vnsers seligmachers Geburt 1445, auff S. Sebastians Abend, ist gestorben der Hochgeborn Herr, Herr Panvel, Herzog in klain Aegypten vnd Herr zum Hirschhorn desselben Lands.' Were the situation of this Hirschhorn not so emphatically stated, one would naturally suppose that it was the neighbouring castle of that name, whose ruins may yet be seen, a dozen miles to the east of Heidelberg, on the Neckar. That Lord Panuel was a scion of the baronial family of Von Hirschhorn seems more than probable. It is inconceivable that the monks of a monastery in the very neighbourhood of Hirschhorn would give burial to an impostor who had assumed a designation associated with that family. This, however, is a point which can best be dealt with by one of our German colleagues, versed in the history of Swabia. To such a historian, also, may be referred, for further elucidation, the record of 1498, quoted above in English. The original entry, as given by Crusius, is: 'Pfortzæ¹ an. 1498. Auff Montag nach Urbani, starb der wolgeborn Herr Johan, Freygraff ausz kleinern Aegypten: desz Seel Gott gnedig vnd barmh. [barmhertzig] woll seyn.' In the margin Crusius has added the words *Zygenus comes*, and he had previously glossed the epitaph of 1445 with *Panuel Aegyptius*. But although these designations signify a Zigeuner count and an Egyptian Panuel, and although both are styled nobles of Little Egypt in the original passages, it does not necessarily follow therefrom that either or both were of Gypsy race. On the contrary, it may be questioned whether the expressions 'hochgeborn' and 'wolgeborn' would ever have been

¹ This is the village of Pfortzen, and not the town of Pforzheim, as has been sometimes supposed.

applied by a European chronicler of the fifteenth century to any man of Gypsy blood.

It is evident that the various references which I have here brought together demand a fuller consideration than it is possible to give them at present. Other evidence of a similar kind could be adduced, but there is little need to multiply instances. What has already been said will suffice to emphasise the important fact that Gypsy nobles were by no means invariably Gypsies. Indeed, the higher their rank, the less likely were they to be of Gypsy blood. It may sound paradoxical to say that by studying the history of those counts of the Gypsies who were not of Gypsy blood we shall find our way to a true conception of the history of the Gypsies themselves. But that, I believe, will be the result of such a study.

In making these extracts, I have purposely avoided, for the sake of conciseness, many side-issues which cannot be ultimately ignored. In a future paper I hope to refer to these, and to offer a solution of more than one seeming inconsistency.

III.—THE 'GERMAN GYPSIES' AT BLACKPOOL

By JOHN SAMPSON

IT was a lucky star methought which had guided the foreign Gypsies to Blackpool. Here at least they would find rest for the soles of their feet. For this gay Lancashire watering-place is one of the few towns where Gypsies are regarded as an asset. And so from Pentecost to Michaelmas you will find scores of tents pitched on the sands of the South Shore, where young and old Gypsy witches *duker* without let or hindrance, while their men folk take charge of shooting-galleries, merry-go-rounds, switch-back railways, water-chutes, bowling-greens, and other recreative delights. Here in a corner of the sandhills, paied in by stake and canvas, the newly arrived German Gypsies—a band of seventy souls—could be viewed or interviewed for the modest sum of twopence. Drawn up within were their long, low-set wagons, the Gypsy women squatted on the ground surrounded by their half-naked progeny, while the men, black and bearded, strolled about smoking long, narrow-bowled pipes. The first indication of charitable intention on the part of any visitor was the signal for a

general descent upon him by the *décolletées* mothers of Egypt, exhibiting their sucklings to excite compassion, and driving each other away like wildfowl fighting for food thrown to them. Even sturdy, well-grown youths, looking like own brothers to our English Boswells, were not ashamed of pressing their stomachs and pointing to their mouths to signify they were hungry. In the centre of the ring, selling 'bost-karts,' was a Gypsy boy, with a droll, pathetic expression, like a circus clown sad at heart, an impression enhanced by his ridiculous dress, for he wore a red fez covered with gold braid, a scarlet jacket, and a brilliant sash emblazoned with the royal arms and a rubicund portrait of King Edward VII. In this garb, and skipping about with a fixed grin which only accentuated the ruefulness of his countenance, he looked so like an organ-grinder's jacko, that it was difficult to resist casting a furtive glance for the tail which ought to have peeped out beneath his red jacket. According to my custom when meeting strange Gypsies, I made no immediate attempt to engage them in conversation, but walked around the little groups with the mien of a stolid Britisher, accustoming my ear to their guttural tones and strange accent, until I could follow their Romani without much difficulty. They were speaking, not, as I had anticipated, the ordinary German dialect of Liebich and Finck, but one which, in such peculiarities as the oblique article *le* and the use of *ei* for 'not' and *na* for 'don't,' showed traces of Rumanian influence. Yet the stress was not Rumanian, nor were the terminations clipped as in the wonderful tales of Barbu Constantinescu. And at last I decided that they must be speaking a form of speech from the neighbourhood of the Karpathians, as like as might be that of the stories collected by Leo Kirilowicz from the Gypsies of Bukovina.

The monkey-boy was the first I spoke to, and the effect was instantaneous. His jaw dropped, then followed an amazed stare and finally a grin which crept gradually across his face until it reached at last from ear to ear, or, if you prefer the variant of my friend Amos Price, 'from 'ere to there.' In a moment I was surrounded by a dozen Gypsy men all firing off eager questions. Was I a Gypsy or a *gajikáno rom*? (their equivalent of Romany Rye). What country did I belong to? and so forth. I had felt some doubt as to my capacity to maintain a conversation in an unfamiliar dialect, but these friendly greetings seemed to endow me with an unexpected volubility and command of language, so that

I spoke almost as fluently and eagerly as the Gypsies themselves, quickly picking up new accents and intonations, until soon my Romani differed little from their own. They belonged, I learned, to the *Preistiko tem*, or Prussia; but they were of that far-traveling order of Gypsies who are the real cosmopolitans, and in their band were some Hungarians and Roumanians. And, like Borrow's Spanish Gypsies, they had two names—one for the *gájos* and one for themselves. The *alias* of the broad-built chief Bačúri was Steinbach, while another was known to the gentiles as Heinrich Wilhelm Rosenberg, and among those whose names I learned were Láiji Váirox, his wife Kalúša, and their son Yángo; Kútsúl Váirox and his wife Aníka; Yórška Ruv and his wife Héla; and Táxomi Férenz and Lóla Yóya, and Yani, Ruv's son, and Tsúkro Mulakóka and the old Hungarian Rúva Fárkaš, nicknamed '*puró choxáno*,' and his wife Helína, his boy Búšel Kóla and his girl Lišé Bába. And then by a happy chance it occurred to me to ask whether they knew any *paramtē*, a word which had a magical effect. In a moment one of their number, Láiji, was summoned, thrust towards me, and had begun the recital of the 'Count's Daughter,' which I took down on the afternoon of Monday, 29th July, in the year of grace 1906, sitting cross-legged on the sands with notebook on my knee, in the midst of a noisily inquisitive rabble, whose interest in my proceedings did not render my task an easier one.

I got no translation of the story; for, as I found that any interruption asking for the German of a Gypsy phrase which I did not understand had the effect of putting them out, I went straight on, trusting to be able to disentangle doubtful passages at my leisure. It is not much of a tale after all, yet they listened to it as though it had been holy writ. Simple souls, dear Reader! but before we pity their simplicity let us remember that they were not exactly little children in their own line, but rather the most accomplished horse-dealers that ever cracked a whip—the despair and admiration of our own English *graiéngrē*. I recall now the field at P——, where, risking the triad of evils prophesied for me by Lovell the younger—*māriben*, *lāriben*, or *juvliben*—I slept out with my foreign friends under the open sky. Dealers have flocked from far and near, eager to pit their judgment against that of the aliens. Horses are bought and sold, bargains struck, or off, with contagious promptitude. Here is a promising young animal led out and put between the shafts—'and don't you forget it,

governor, he's a sort!' Artless Ruv springs barefoot into the light cart, dashes furiously up and down the length of the field with a fine air of carelessness, and then more slowly parades backwards and forwards a second time. Horse-dealers are not as a rule a demonstrative folk, but keen glances are exchanged between the local members of the talent sitting round their jar of beer on the green sward. 'Don't hunderstand Henglish, don't they?' says Mr. Tomlinson, spitting to relieve his feelings; 'well, they don't bloody well need to. There hain't no explanation needed. Hit's a diagram, that's wot it is. Gor love me if I hever seen such a show in my life. Goes like a crab, and look at 'is "ifs" and "bumps." Doesn't 'arf show 'im, does he, guv'nor?' And even to my untutored eye it is plain that any mere verbal picture of the horse's weak points would now be superfluous. We have the obverse of their coin a minute later, when Kűtsűl displays a beast which they propose to sell.

But this is to divagate—so here, *Romanű Rarűlű*, is the tale, such as it is; and if these gentry were German Gypsies, then perhaps the 'Count's Daughter' may be the first German Gypsy folk-tale recorded by a *gajikűno rom*.

*Haűűres sas grűvű.¹ Sas les
yűk rűklű. Sas ű rűklű desűvű
berűűű. Őű mukűlas te jal űvrű
p'ű² pűv.*

*Tűi gűlas űvrű p'ű pűv kűna
sas desűvű berűűű. Tűi gűlas
űvrű tűle pűű. Tűi űvilűs-le
pűűesa ű kűmpű.³ Ta sas dűű
űr p'ű kűmpű. Tűi űrdinű-la⁴
grűvűskű rűklű.*

*Rűdinű-la rűklű yűk berű.
űű 'rűklű-la rűklű. Tu sas paš*

Haűűres was a count. He had one girl. The girl was a seventeen year old. He would not let her go out afield.

And she went out afield when she was a seventeen year old. And she went down to the water. And the ferry-boat came by water. And there were two robbers in the ferry-boat. And they stole the count's girl.

They sought the girl for one year. They did not find the

¹ grűvű] Germ. *Graf*, suffix -o for more usual -os.

² p'ű]=pe ű. Cp. Mik., v. 44, 'pe, praep. űf, bei, fűr, um'; pe is a contracted form of *oprű*.

³ kűmpű] Hung. *komp*, 'ferry'; hence I translate 'ferry-boat,' which seems to be the sense required here. But in a different tale Yani, Ruv's son, used *kűmpű* simply as the equivalent of *bűrű*.

⁴ -la] I use a hyphen where the obl. art. -la (fem.), -le (masc.), or -le (plur.) is sounded as though part of the preceding word. Cp. the same practice in the Rum. Gyp. of Barbu Constantinescu.

gróvō éorō maléli.¹ Péndas ō maléli le grōvósķī: 'Mē jav te rōdávlaráklia p'ōtem.' 'Kárin² gélas ī ráklī ávrī ánda³ kēr?' pūčēl ō maléli. Ta síkadís ō gróvō kái gélas ī ráklī pa-ke pāñī. Ta gélas ō maléli.

Ta kod' ašelas pašūl pe tan kátār ī ráklia le éor 'yigérdē.⁴ Ta márde-les, éorde-les, kodói⁵ sēlbē⁶ éor [te] ráklia éordē. Ligérdē le raklés ánda péñō báro vēs.

O ráklō igen⁷ jánlas [te] málozi.⁸ Pénde-le éor le rakléskī: 'Te vésa tū lašō ēī mún-darása tut. Játār sōlaχár pālál. Sī man kadé ēk ráklī. Te na kamés lu. Te pén'la túki ī ráklī: "Xoč⁹ kamés ma?"¹⁰ (ī ráklī)¹¹ mindyár¹² te penés aményī.' Gēlo-ke¹³ o éor te éorél.

Kána gēlo-ke éor te éorél, las ī ráklī le raklés vastéstār, ligér-

girl. And near the count lived a poor painter. Said the painter to the count: 'I go to seek the girl throughout the land.' 'Which way went the girl out from the house?' asks the painter. And the count showed him where the girl went towards the water. And the painter went.

And he stopped close to the place whence the robbers bore away the girl. And they beat him, they stole him, those same robbers that stole the girl. They bore off the boy into their great wood.

The boy was a very cunning painter. Said the robbers to the boy: 'If thou wilt be good we will not slay thee. Go, swear then, I have this one daughter. Thou must not love her. If the girl says to thee: "Wilt thou not love me?" thou must tell us immediately.' The robber went away to steal.

When the robber went away to steal, the girl took the boy

¹ maléli] Germ. Maler, suffix -éli for expected -ári.

² kárin] elsewhere kárip, comp. of aka, 'this,' and rig, 'side.' Cp. Welsh Gyp. 'kúia rig, 'this side,' 'kóia rig, 'yonder side.'

³ ánda]=andrál. Cp. Mik., v. 7.

⁴ 'yigérdē]=ligérdē, Eng. and W. Gyp. rigerdē.

⁵ kodói]=kodóle.

⁶ sēlbē] Germ. -selbe.

⁷ igen] Hung. igen, 'very.' Pott, ii. 65.

⁸ málozi]=málozil, indic. pres. third pers. sing. From Germ. mal-en with suffix -oz, used only with loan-words. Cp. Mik., x. 91-2.

⁹ xoč] Pott, i. 315, No. 11. Polish loan-word which, in the instances cited, has the force of *although*.

¹⁰ ma]=man.

¹¹ (ī ráklī)] This must have been an aside to myself to make it plain that the girl was the speaker of the last sentence, and that the *ma* refers to her and not to the robber.

¹² mindyár] Hung. mindjárt, 'immediately.'

¹³ -ke] This suffix, which I do not understand, can hardly be a mishearing of -tar, which was always pronounced with great distinctness.

das les and' ō kēr pe biš tái štār by the hand and led him into
vúdará pērdál. Pándadās ándē the house through four-and-
ō rāklēs and' ō vúdār. L'as ávrī twenty doors. She shut in the
*ī rāklī pēskī pistóla.*¹ boy within the [last] door. The
 girl took out her pistol.

A sharp thunder-shower drives us inside Ruv's *vērdon*. His wife Hēla, huge in girth as Aurora of Valencia, rummages in a chest and produces a mighty crystal goblet capacious enough to hold a draught of *laši lovína* worthy of Borrow himself. They toast me with *Tavés baxtālō!* and the tale is resumed; but in a manner which I do not remember to have seen mentioned elsewhere. The original narrator, Láiji Váirox, stops suddenly, as though unwilling to have all the glory to himself, and points to another who takes up the story where the first had left off. These changes occur three or four times in the course of the recital, while sometimes the whole circle chorus the last words of a sentence. And at the foot of every page of my note-book I am made to read aloud what I have written, while the face of the Gypsy tale-teller wears the proud glow of a young author who for the first time sees himself in print. All of which goes to prove what Paspatis pointed out, and what is equally true of my own Welsh Gypsies, that the oral form of Romani folk-tales is as fixed as the text of printed literature; and so in listening to them we listen to the voices of Gypsies dead and gone generations ago. The story is continued by Kútsúl Váirox and Yórska Ruv.

Péndas ī rāklī: 'Raklaia Said the girl: 'O boy, if
de² na kamésa ma, puškedáp³ thou dost not love me I will
tut.' 'Me-sín,'⁴ péndas ō rāklō, shoot thee.' 'I have,' said the
'sōlaχ dtnō de na kamáb tut boy, 'given oath that I will never
pálál.' Péndas ī rāklī: 'I sōlaχ love thee.' Said the girl: 'The
kóde-naí kánī! De lésa-ma, mē oath that is nothing at all! If
lig'rab tū⁵ kátār ávrī. Akáná thou takest me I will carry thee
le biš tái štār ēōr živén kádē dāi away from here. Now the four-
kúrakē. Mē janáv tō beš ai tō and-twenty thieves live here two
drom.' weeks. I know thy wood and
 thy way.'

¹ *pistóla*] elsewhere a different speaker makes 'pistol' masculine.

² *de*] = *te*, 'if.'

³ *puškedáp*] = *puškedáv*, comp. of *puška*, 'gun,' and *dáva*, 'I give' or 'strike.'

⁴ *me-sín*] = *mandí sí*, 'est mihi.' Cp. Mik., v. 26, s. v. *is*.

⁵ *tū*] = *tut*.

*L'as ō ráklō ō pistólō;*¹ *d'as la púške ándō šērō. Ávilás lákī dē.*² *D'as vī*³ *lákī dā*⁴ *puške pālál. Gélas ō ráklō ándō*⁵ *sōbī;*⁶ *'raklās la ēī. Ródas óprē le biš táí štār sōbī. 'Raklās ándō pālunī, 'raklās la rákla, la grōvóskira ráklia, sō ēördē sas, le dešévta beršējira. Sas ī ráklī lī grōvóskī tístanáyī,*⁷ *ta ávrī šákī.*⁸ *Márlas lákō yllō.*⁹ *Tái pínjardás ō ráklō la ráklia, ke kodé ī ráklī le grōvóskī, kas jálas ō ráklō p'ō tem te rōdél pála la.*

The boy took the pistol; he shot her in the head. Her mother came. Then he shot her mother also. The boy went into the rooms; he found her not. He sought up the four-and-twenty rooms. He found [her] in the last one; he found the girl, the count's girl, who was stolen, the seventeen year old. The count's girl was stark naked and . . . She was beating her heart. And the boy knew the girl, [knew] that this was the count's girl whom the boy went throughout the land to seek after.

*Tái péndas lákī ō ráklō: 'Mē pála tū ávilém, pála tū te rōdáv tū p'ī láma,*¹⁰ *p'ō tem. 'Sō kerása? Šār janása kátār te jástār?*

And the boy said to her: 'I have come after thee, after thee to find thee throughout the land, throughout the world.' 'What shall we do? How do we know whither to go?'

Tái l'as la ō ráklō p'ō dúmō. Táí l'as ō ráklō mas pésa, mārno, mol, büt lōvē, táí gélastār ándō vēš.

And the boy took her on his back. And the boy took meat with him, bread, wine, much monies, and he went into the wood.

*Čī ján'las kariņ te jal. Táí 'raklās ō ráklō bárō pái. Nástī jánas katé máí*¹¹ *dūr, ke sas*

He did not know which way to go. And the boy found the great water. Here they could

¹ *pistólō*] cp. note 1, p. 116.

² *dē*] = *dái, déi*. Cp. infra, *šē* for *čái*, also Mik., v. 17.

³ *vī*] 'also.' Mik., viii. 95.

⁴ *dā*] = *dáia*, acc. fem. Cp. infra, *šā* for *čáia*.

⁵ *ándō*] cannot here = *and'* o. In spite of their wrong appearance *andro, ando*, *ano* occur in some dialects.

⁶ *sōbī*] pl. of *sōba*, Hung. *szoba*, 'room.'

⁷ *tístandyi*] ? 'stark naked,' apparently a comp. of Hung. *tista*, 'clean,' and Gyp. *náyi*, 'naked.'

⁸ *ta ávrī šákī*] I am unable to explain this, and probably some interruption caused me to take down the passage imperfectly. Perhaps the meaning is that the girl had been left without clothes in order that she might not escape.

⁹ *yllō*] Mik., vii. 69, *ýllo*.

¹⁰ *láma*] Rum. *lume*.

¹¹ *mái*] Rum. *maj*, 'more.' Mik., v. 36.

aŋlál les ō bárō pái. Péndas ī raktiákī: 'Nástis¹ jas kodé. Ašás kadé. Jástar óprē pé-ke bárō kōpďē,² te dása 'mē³ koté pe kōpďē ďéle te sōvén,⁴ ke kámavén⁵ le ěor pālál 'mē tái 'rakéna men. P'o kōpďē pālē ěi dikéna men.'

Avilē le ěor keré pe ěórimó. Diklē le ěor ke léski šē⁶ le ěóréski tái leski rómnī īsi mundárdlē tái ráklī le grōvóski ávrī ěórdī. Gélē le ěor mindyár deš ū dūi rigál⁷ pālál te rōdén le raktés, ke jáŋlē hōdyō⁸ ráklō mundárdas le ěóréska rómnia, tái léska šā,⁹ tái la grōvóska rákla¹⁰ nášadas.

not go further, for the great water was before him. He said to the girl: 'We cannot go yonder. Let us stop here. Let us go up into the great tree to lay us down there in the tree to sleep, for the robbers will come after us and find us. Back in the tree they will not see us.'

The robbers came home from their robbing. The robbers saw that his daughter, the [chief] robber's [daughter] and his wife are slain and the count's daughter stolen away. The robbers went straightway in ten and two directions to seek after the boy, for they knew that boy had killed the robber's wife and his girl, and had fled away with the count's daughter.

Yet another interruption of a different kind. A dwarfish Gypsy boy holding a whip twice his own height has burst into the camp shouting some guttural information in which I can only distinguish the word '*gren*.' Finally I make out that the police have seized the Gypsies' horses, though why no one seems able to tell me. For a few minutes there is a scene of wild excitement,

¹ *nástis*] elsewhere *násti*. Cp. also *śtisa*, 'thou canst.'

² *kōpďē*] also *kōpďé*. Hung. *kopács*. Mik., v. 31.

³ *'mē*] = 'men.

⁴ *sōvén*] so in my notebook, but read *sōvds*. There may be some interest in pointing out how such mistakes arose. When I had a word repeated for me because the Gypsy spoke too quickly or indistinctly, it was given not, as before, in the form in which it was spoken by the characters of the tale, but explanatorily of them. The boy says, 'Let us sleep in the tree,' the narrator explains, 'They are sleeping in the tree.'

⁵ *kámavén*] = orig. *kamén t'avén*. In Gk. and Rum. Gyp. *kam-* now serves as an auxiliary denoting the future.

⁶ *léski šē*] The story jumps from the robber band to the robber chief. Here *léski šē* means the daughter of the robber *par excellence*. With *šē* (*śái*), cp. supra *dě, dái*.

⁷ *rigál*] obviously *rig*, 'side,' with the adverbial suffix *-al*: *deš ū dūi rigál*, 'in twelve directions.'

⁸ *hōdyō*] cp. infra, *ódō*.

⁹ *šā*] = *śáia*, acc. fem. Cp. supra, *dái*.

¹⁰ *rákla*] for *raktisa*. Cp. Mik., v. 6, on the contr. form of the inst. in the dialect of Bukovina.

jabber, and gesticulation. A baby donkey, the pet of the camp, throws back his head like a frightened child and contributes to the general clamour by his piteous brayings. Then two or three of their number, among whom is the masterful Bačŭri, are deputed to deal with the business. And with some little difficulty I bring Láiji back to interest in the tale.

*Gēlē le ěor la pŭiēsa ō kŏmpō,¹
tái 'raklās ódō² sēlbē kŏpāđēi kái
ī ráklī tái ráklō óprē sŏvénas.
Pāŋlē le ěor ō kŏmpō kái kodō
kŏpāđēi pe sávō kŏpāđēi sŏvénas ī
ráklī ta ráklō. Pēndas ō yēk
ěor: 'Amála! ákekátār avēla ō
ráklō la raklīása. Katē sī te
'vel. Katār ávrī? Kekátār
náštī jal mái dŭr.'*

*Pēndas ō ěor: 'Mē da ma tēle,
tái tŭ, amála, na sŏv tu mái,
me, te uštō óprē, sáisa tŭ te
sŏvéas.'*

*Ō ráklō tái ī ráklī dikénas
le ěŏren, tái l'as ō ráklō ī fláša³
la molyákī, tái sŏrdas pe-l
ěŏréngō [read ěŏréskō] máī, sār
sŏvélas ō ěor. Pēndas ō ěor le
áv'rē ěŏréski: 'Na sŏr pe m'rō
máī pāi. Muk sŏcav, ke klnō
sím.'*

*Pēndas ō áver ěor: 'Na ěī
sŏrdem pe tyō máī pāi.' 'Sŏr-
dal pāi pe m'rō máī.' Tái
márdē pe⁴ le ěor. Mundárdas
ō yēk ěor l'áv'rē ěŏrē,⁵ tái ō
ráklō pe kŏpāđēi d'as puske, ō
ráklō, ávrē ěŏrē pe kŏpāđē.*

The robbers went by water, by the ferry-boat, and they found that same tree where the girl and the boy were sleeping above. The robbers tied the boat to that tree, the tree in which were sleeping the girl and the boy. Said one robber: 'Matey, hither will come the boy and the girl with him. He must come here. Whither away? From here he can go no further.'

Said the robber: 'I will lie me down, and thou, matey, do not sleep more; and if I get up, thou canst sleep.'

The boy and the girl were watching the robbers. And the boy took the flask of wine and poured it in the robber's mouth as the robber slept. Said the robber to the other robber: 'Do not pour water in my mouth; let me sleep, for I am tired.'

Said the other robber: 'I did not pour water in thy mouth.' 'Thou didst pour water in my mouth.' And the robbers struck each other. The one robber slew the other robber; and the boy in the tree, the boy shot the other robber from the tree.

¹ *kŏmpō*] for *kŏmpōsa*. See preceding note.

² *fláša*] Germ. *Flasche*.

⁴ *pe*] = *pen*.

² *ódō*] cp. note 8, p. 118.

⁵ *ěŏrē*] = *ěŏrés*.

*Tái gēlas ō ráklō la rakliása
tēle pe kōpāēi tái bēšē pe kodō
sēlbe kompō pe sávō le raklēs
tái la ráklia ērdē le ēōr.*

And the boy and the girl
with him went down from the
tree and seated themselves in
the same boat in which the
robbers had stolen the boy and
the girl.

*Tái gēlotār ō ráklō tái ī
ráklī kerē, kái ō grōvō káskī sas
ī ráklī, la dešēvta beršēyi. Tái
kērdē pégo blav. D'as ō grōvō
la ráklia le raklēski le malerēski,
te na mūlas Éades¹ tráii.²*

And the boy and the girl
went home to the count, to
whom was the girl, the seventeen
year old. And they made their
wedding. The count gave the
girl to the painter-boy. And if
he has not died, he is living to
this day.

'Am End'!—the story is finished, and finished just in time, for at the same moment the ring is invaded by fifty policemen, who at the direction of a white-helmeted chief tear up the stakes, roll up the canvas, and fling them and other poor belongings of the Gypsies into the wagons. From the top of a 'helter-skelter lighthouse' overlooking the enclosure the English Boswells and Lees watch the eviction with yells of delight and amusement, while crowded on a small mat, all cheering wildly, about a dozen others descend at break-neck speed the spiral slide which runs round this foolish piece of architecture. Lancashire holiday-makers, hurrying and hustling to the scene, look on with satisfaction at the free show provided by the discomfiture and dismay of the unwelcome visitors. Sturdy corporation horses are driven into the ring and placed between the shafts, and the tottering ramshackle vans whirled along the sandhills to the high-road. There we find drays awaiting us, upon one of which, at the invitation of my friends, I seat myself between Ruv. and Kütsül, and we are driven, under an imposing police escort, to the borough boundary, where a second escort meets and takes charge of us. The first sharp grief and indignation of the Gypsies has given place to a mute acceptance of the situation with truly Oriental patience and fatalism. *Kai jása? Kon junél?*—at any rate we are going somewhere. Before us lumbers one of the vans filled with women-folk, and, curled up on the tail-board, his gaudy

¹ *Éades*] *É* = *zi*, 'until this day.'

² *tráii*] Slav. *trajati*, 'durare' (Mik., i. 42, No. 564). Another of my stories, taken down from Tsákro Mulakóka, ends with the same formula.

jacket protected by an old sack, with both arms round the neck of the baby donkey, an abject melancholy little figure, is Yóka, our friend of the 'bost-karts.' The rain descends in torrents, wetting us all to the skin. My neighbour on the right digs me in the side, girms like a 'sorrowful wolf,' and sings a plaintive little love-song.

*'But kára ável térní éái ;
Déla mrô dével t'ável mri !
Tá 'vel baxtált,
Baxtált tá rūpalt.'*¹

IV.—THE GYPSIES OF ANDALUSIA

By WALTER M. GALLICHAN

THERE are many Gitanos at Coria,' said José, who keeps a *cantina* for English sailors, on the quay below the Golden Tower at Seville.

José smiled at my curiosity in the Gypsies. He had already accompanied me to Triana, the Gitano quarter on the right bank of the Guadalquivir at Seville, and he was willing to conduct me to Coria. This little town, under its bluffs of olive plantations and vines, sleeps by the tidal waters of the swirling brown river, and still maintains itself, as in the Roman days, by the industry of 'tinaja' making. The tinaja is the earthenware wine or water jar, Moorish in design, and moulded out of reddish clay; and Coria is one of the Andalusian centres of its manufacture.

It was a hot morning when we started from the Puente de Triana—sometimes called the Bridge of Isabella the Second—and steamed down the Guadalquivir. Nightingales in hosts sang from the bushes that clothe both banks. You could hear the chorus above the panting of the little engine. We passed the wharves and the promenade by the river, and rounding many bends, came to the first pier, and on by primitive wooden breakwaters, by marsh and olive-garden to the low red hills of Coria-del-Rio. The loafers on the landing-stage surveyed us sleepily; and among them I saw two or three swarthy Gitano boys, with big sombreros

¹ 'This young maid she grows so sweet,
God for her I must entreat,
Fortune fair for her I crave,
Luck and silver may she have.'

and tattered clothes, each one leaning on his olive-wood club, used in the herding of cattle.

'Minding bulls' is the occupation of a number of the juvenile Gypsy population of Coria. The fighting bulls, black or piebald, roam the marshes by the river, leading a placid life until the hour when the warrantable among them are rounded up, and driven to the bull-ring along the scorching dusty roads. They are tended by herdsmen, picturesque figures, with cloak and staff, who stand for long hours on the burning plains, with a shaggy, wolfish dog at their feet, gazing across the vistas of quivering heat-haze, motionless as stone, and apparently in a condition of coma. Not an arduous occupation, but one of monotony, providing a lifetime of contemplation.

More energetic are the Gitanos who work in the potteries of Coria, shaping the tinajas with skill and artistic taste. The Philistines who set down all Gypsies as worthless idlers would do well to visit these potters by the Guadalquivir. We strolled into their colony, a collection of caves or burrows in the side of a tawny, Oriental-looking hill. The cells were primitive indeed, but they had furniture, cooking-places, and burnished brass and copper pans. We entered one of them, where an elfish woman, with a bright handkerchief, sat sewing. At her feet were fowls, which wandered in to pick up scraps from the earthen floor. The Gitana screened her eyes from the sunshine which pierced into the cave, and regarded us with reserve, though without discourtesy. A faint smile settled on her seamed and wrinkled features as we examined her fireplace and cooking-pots. She did not beg; not a single Gitano in Coria solicited alms, though we were strangers from Seville. Even the impish urchins, who followed us in a train from hovel to hovel, refrained from begging for centimos.

Some of the doorways to the caves were cut square, others had an attempt at an arch, and most of them had been whitened with lime-wash. The dwellings were lighted and ventilated by the doors only, but they did not appear insanitary in other respects, and in most of them there were evidences of efforts at cleanliness. These people seemed more industrious, sober, and independent than their brethren in the Triana quarter of Seville, where, as O'Shea says, are to be found 'the most picturesque blackguards in the south of Spain.' I question, however, whether the black sheep are to be sought for amongst the Gitanos, even in Triana,

where there are perhaps as many professional loungers, beggars, and queer characters as there are Gypsies.

Unlike the Hungarian Gypsies whom I met in Avila, who avoided the camera and refused to be photographed unless we paid them a peseta apiece, the Gitanos of Coria had no objection to having their photographs taken in groups or singly. They gave us every aid in posing themselves, and it was interesting to note the natural manner in which they stood, and their instinct for 'an effect.' I have noted everywhere that the Romani race has an innate sense of the artistic, which may be crude enough, but is, nevertheless, more developed than that of the lower class Gorgios. In Triana the children at once grouped themselves charmingly when we offered to take a *retrato* (portrait) of them.

In the main street of Coria the houses are fairly equally divided amongst Gypsies and Gentiles. When we explored this thoroughfare, we created more curiosity than amongst the cave-dwellers. The children swarmed around us, and the old folk chattered, grinned, and eyed us with an interest perhaps not quite free from humour at our expense. Two ladies of our party, my wife and her sister, wore English hats. The hat, as a head-covering for women, is only just beginning to take the favour of the señoras of Andalusia, and in the country districts it is never seen. Here, in rural Coria, the Gitanos declared that the hats of the ladies were the first that they had set eyes upon. Still, with all their inquisitive gazing and merry criticisms of our appearance, the Gypsies of Coria were quite friendly to the foreigners from Inglaterra. It is true that the youngsters followed us, solemn-eyed and wondering, from the town down to the riverside, and that they approached our circle somewhat too closely, as we sat down to our open-air meal; but a threat from José to throw one of them in the stream sent them a few yards away. José was not in full sympathy with Gitanos, though he had no distinct charge to offer against the race.

Towards evening we went to a *posada* for some wine. The usual knot of peeping children gathered at the door, and the landlord asked José many questions about the English people. During our refreshment a couple of roysterers entered the inn—the first and the last persons under the spell of Bacchus whom we met in wine-drinking Spain. José was cold to the hilarious muleteers. He blushed for the reputation of his country, for in Spain drunkenness is hated, and the *borracho* (drunkard) is

regarded as a degraded personage. I must say in fairness that these revellers were not of Gypsy blood.

The Gitanos of Andalusia were cruelly harassed by harsh laws and expulsion during a period of three hundred years. Nowadays the proscribed people live in freedom from oppressive enactments, and they are even petted by 'the smart set' in the towns. This is the case in Seville, where doñas of high birth frequently resort to Gypsy seeresses, to have their fortunes told, and where the dandies and young bloods of the city will pay the Romani lasses a liberal fee for witnessing one of their weird Oriental dances in the suburb of Triana.

At the annual *feria* of Seville, in April, the Gitanos and Gitanas are decked in their traditional garb, and sport their gaudiest handkerchiefs, ribbons, and sashes. They erect little booths, in which they perform dances, or provide curious sweetmeats and delicacies for their patrons. The men of the Triana community chiefly follow the occupation of horse and mule clipping. They are the artists of this profession; the smartest teams of horses and mules are clipped and trimmed by the Gitanos, whose shears can transform a shaggy ass into a trim and natty animal, which would excite the envy of a London costermonger at a donkey parade. The women are persuasive hawkers of small articles, fortune-tellers, and some of them sell roasted chestnuts, while the younger Gitanas excel in dancing. Here, as in most parts of Europe, the Gypsies of the highest standing are of the horse-dealing profession.

At Triana the appearance of a well-dressed Gorgio brings the whole tribe of tawny folk from their tenements. They crowd around, in a wild motley of dark skins and garish colours, chattering, laughing, and extending their hands for coins. I quieted them with a few words of Romanes, telling them that I was a rye who had known many of their brothers in Inglaterra. José proposed a dance, and a group of children speedily arranged a 'function' on a patch of waste ground. A number of the tan-skinned children sat or stood in a semicircle, while two girls danced in a slow, Eastern fashion, employing the hands, which were held over the head, and writhing the bodies in a serpentine movement. The accompanists, or chorus, sang a monotonous air, clapping their hands in rhythm.

At Triana I saw the swarthiest Gitanos in Spain. Some of them were almost black, and there were very few of the fair types, the cast of feature being for the most part Moorish. Many of the

younger children were quite nude, and their skins from head to foot were dusky, and in some cases wellnigh sooty.

The Gitanerias, the barrios, or quarters, of the Gypsies in Southern Spain are usually in the poorest purlieus or suburbs of the big towns. In Granada the Gitanos do not appear to prosper so well as their brothers of Triana and Madrid. George Borrow mentions twelve Romani families living in Cordova in his time, but during my stay of some days in that ancient city I could not discover any Gitanos.

At Avila I encountered two families of Hungarian Gypsies, travelling with tans and carts, and horses to sell. They were long-haired, wild, and handsome folk; one of the women was superbly beautiful, with two long plaits of raven hair, copper skin, ivory teeth, and flashing dark-brown eyes. I met the same group again at the summer horse-fair of León, where they seemed to be doing a flourishing business with their horses. The oldest man of one family spoke French with an almost perfect accent. He wore his hair over his shoulders in ringlets, and smoked a large, curved clay pipe, with a cherry stem. All of them disported jewellery, and appeared to be very prosperous, while they were undoubtedly intelligent. But they lacked the Oriental courtesy of the Spanish Gitanos, and seemed to possess a keener eye for the main chance.

V.—THE GYPSIES OF THE RHINE PROVINCE IN 1902-3

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

IN the autumn of 1902 I left my home for the first time in my life and went to stay with Herr Pfarrer Spindeler, parish priest for the Catholic portion of the inhabitants of Sponheim and the neighbouring village of Bockenau, some ten miles from Bad Kreuznach, on the Nahe, which river flows into the Rhine at Bingen.

A steam tram runs from Kreuznach to and beyond Sponheim, along the valley of the Fischbach, and the nearest railway station is that of Waldböckelheim. The country is exceedingly hilly and well wooded, and is not overrun by tourists, although the roads are among the best I have ever seen. Sponheim itself is situated on an incline facing southwards, with the Fischbach running at its base and backed to the north, north-east, and west by high woodlands.

I went to Germany with the object of learning the German language. The people I was living with, the young priest, his two sisters, and his mother, were most worthy 'gorgios,' but hopelessly prosy and, if anything, a little too *gemütlich*. My object in giving these details is to show how it was that, seemingly quite by chance, I was thrown among the Gypsies, of whom I had scarcely heard before going to Germany, and whose language I had at that time no ambition to learn.

The district round Sponheim had from time immemorial been haunted by Gypsies, but oddly enough they had never appeared in such truly alarming numbers as was the case in the spring and summer of 1903. The cause of this invasion I have never been able to ascertain satisfactorily; the Gypsies themselves gave me but little help, simply telling me in answer to my questions what I obviously knew, that they were having a *báro tsilo*, a 'great gathering.' Anyhow they became such a plague to the countryside, the fame of their misdeeds even reaching the Reichstag, that special measures for dealing with them were adopted by the authorities, so that within a few months of my departure from Germany their numbers had considerably diminished, and my friends now assure me that they have neither been seen nor heard of for over eighteen months.

My first encounter with the Gypsies was in March 1903, when a tall and very beautiful woman dressed in the gaudiest apparel, which I cannot even attempt to describe, appeared at the door of the Pfarrhaus, and in the strongest Tyrolese accent told us that she had that day given birth to a child, and asked to be *ausgesegnet*, a ceremony corresponding to the Purification among the Jews. As no choir-boy could be found to say the responses, it being early afternoon, I assisted, and subsequently accompanied the woman down to the vans, where the rest of her party, among them her husband, were awaiting her return. They were strangers to the country, and I chose their camping-ground for them in a little wood off the road to Kreuznach, near a clear stream, with a goodish patch of grass and a stack of hay for the horses. I returned to them again that night, and they seemed grateful to me and gave me my first lesson in their language. This first lesson did me more harm than good; it was not in the dialect I was destined to learn, being much purer than that of the German Gypsies. Six months later I met the party again, and about the same time another tribe, speaking a similar

dialect. I propose later to submit my small collection from these sources to the Society. I feel convinced that the Gypsies in question speak a Romani dialect hailing from the Balkan Peninsula, and that as they claim to be natives of Elsass-Lothringen and their genuine Romani words are no longer accented on the last syllable, while their dialect is beginning to show signs of German influence, they have no intention of returning to their former home. If this theory be correct, it would partially overthrow that of Miklosich, that the westward migration has entirely ceased. Anyhow, there is yet some interesting work to be done in Elsass-Lothringen.

The second batch of Gypsies I met were of the truly German stock, those who rarely leave Western Germany, except when they succeed in evading the Dutch authorities and cross into Holland. I have frequently spoken to them about my first encounter with their race. They told me that those whom I first met were utter savages, and they gave me to understand that their language was very bad and almost unintelligible to them. When I quoted specimens of it they laughed and said it was not genuine. They called these non-German Gypsies *Lálere Sínte*, 'dumb, or Bohemian Gypsies.' They seemed considerably afraid of them. Whilst I was thus talking a young boy who had been listening to the conversation started singing, at the same time going through a regular pantomime to bring out more clearly the meaning of the words. The song sufficiently shows the German Gypsies' feelings towards the *Lálere Sínte*:—

‘*Kotr véne i lálere sínte an !*

Me štióm te peyóm und i romniá muktóm !’

(‘Yonder come the Bohemian Gypsies along ! I sprang up and fell and left my wife in the lurch !’)

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1903 I was constantly in the company of Gypsies, all of them of the German stock ; and all except one family looked upon the Rhine Province as their home. This one family hailed from the kingdom of Saxony, and apart from certain words, the etymology of which I have never been able to ascertain, their dialect differed scarcely at all from that of the West German Romanies.

At one time my friends used to turn up with such regularity that I could almost tell the day on which to expect them. I frequently spent the whole day and half the night in their camp, sharing their meals, fishing for trout in the Fischbach, wandering

off through the woods with some Gypsy lad, or accompanying a girl to a neighbouring village, where she wished to try her luck at telling fortunes. I generally had a note-book with me, and used to spend hours sitting under a tree or hedge, taking down dialogues, sentences, and new words. To my regret, however, I must admit that as I became more proficient in the language I grew lazier in note-taking, so that my collections are not so large as they ought to be. However, I learned nothing from books; in fact, at this period I was only beginning to read Borrow's *Lavengro*, not having heard of his other writings. It was after leaving Germany that I became acquainted with the works of Miklosich, Pott, and later on, when in Spain, with Professor F. N. Finck's *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*.

Of the customs of the Gypsies of the Rhine Province I need not say much; they are similar to those of their brethren in other parts of the world, and are fairly well known by now. I may note that each family cooks its own food, so that you can generally tell the number of families in a tribe by the number of fires. The Gypsies of Germany have an old law (at which the present generation smile, though they have not yet arrived at the stage of scoffing), forbidding them to eat horse-flesh, or even to touch a dead horse. The accusation *χαιδες γραιέσκero mas*, 'it is said that you have been eating horse-flesh,' is still a very grave one, though I have been unable to ascertain wherein would consist the punishment for such an offence, still less what would be the power that could enforce it.

Frau Witwe Steinbach, of Coblenz, 'and of many other places,' was quite the most interesting woman of her race that I have ever met. She must have been somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. She bore a strong resemblance to pictures I have seen of Lamartine, and her figure and general appearance were those of Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch. She was not so dark as many of her kinsfolk, who had often the hue of a native of Bengal. She was in the habit of smoking a stumpy black pipe. I wanted to know her Christian name; she told me she had none, but was known everywhere as the *pári rómni*, 'the old Gypsy.' She was a most motherly person, and re-echoed the soundest advice of a parent to her child: 'Marry for love where money is.' She was clever at telling fortunes. Holding her patient by the hand, she would look into his or her eyes and, whilst prophesying the future, would interweave many home-truths as to character

and temperament, which were not always altogether welcome to the listener. On her authority I have it, that when a woman is found to be *bāri* (I never heard the Rhine Gypsies use *kābni*) she is separated from the rest of the tribe and tended and well cared for by women alone, and that this system is prolonged until two months after the birth of the child. When I objected that to the so-called *Lälere Sinte* this custom was unknown, she said that this proved that they were savages. My own opinion is that it may be the law, but that it is not adhered to.

The German Gypsies are great swearers. Amongst the expressions which will bear translation are: 'Great God!' 'God!' 'Mother of God!' 'Golden God!' 'Wooden God!' 'May the devil strangle you!' (or me!), and so on.¹

I must not forget to mention that they are excellent musicians, playing chiefly the violin, guitar, zither, and harp. Indeed, the men make quite a good sum by playing in the country wayside inns. They play by ear and by heart whatever they think will best please their audience. I must reluctantly admit that the miserable stuff they play—low music-hall crazes, *Gassenhauer* of the vilest type—does not make one disposed to consider them a musical people. But, to do them justice, these insipid productions frequently go through quite a startling metamorphosis when rendered by these nomads with a frenzied fury at times almost uncanny. It is from the children that I got the few songs in my possession. The music to which they were sung was sometimes extremely sad, but every one in the major mode. Indeed, I never once heard a minor tune—not even in the snatches of song that would escape them whilst they went about their various occupations.

After having listened to these concerts, which sometimes lasted for several hours, I thought it my duty to invite them to something of the same kind. I had a bed-sittingroom on the ground floor at the back of the house. The *pāro rašāi* strongly objected to my having Gypsies to tea in his vicarage, so it was necessary to get them in through the window unobserved. This was easily managed amid ripples of ill-suppressed Romani laughter, 'lest the *rašāi* should hear,' and in the twinkling of a goat's tail Māma, a beautiful *bīš-u-duiēngri*, her brother, whose Christian name I

¹ In Gypsy: '*Bāro Dēvel!*' '*Dēvla!*' '*Dēblēskr Dai!*' '*Somnākuno Dēbel!*' '*Kdūeno Dēbel!*' '*O Beng te tasēl tut!*' (or '*te tasēl man!*') *Dēvel* and *Dēbel* are both heard. Other oaths are: '*T'arēs mir kār!*' '*Xas mir mintā!*' and '*T'arēs mir būl!*'

have forgotten, but whose surname was Petaléngro, and the little twins Bápo and Bi, would be comfortably seated on my bed, while I sat before them playing tune after tune on my violoncello. Then would come a soft knock at the door, which was locked. Immediately my dark friends would start from their half-reclining position, saying to each other and to me in loud whispers: '*Kōn hi, kōn hi?*'—'*Mā tras,*' I would answer, '*hi i rašaiēskr pēn.*' And sure enough it was she. '*I pāri Ltza,*' as we all called her, was the Pfarrer's eldest sister. Her outward crust was hard and rough, but within was a heart of gold. Her reason for disturbing us then was to hand in through the door, held ajar, bread and butter and cups of coffee. '*Hi doch ye kāmli gādši,*' the Gypsies would say, while enjoying the *lātšo xāben*. But a *contretemps* awaited us on one such an occasion. Franziska, the other sister, younger and more frivolous, hearing the noise, the laughter, and the talk—not German talk, German laughter, or German noise (indeed, when among or near a German Gypsy band you feel that you are among strangers long before you catch actual words)—she rightly guessed whom I was entertaining down below, my room being immediately under hers. When therefore my friends were climbing out, down came a jugful of cold water on their heads. Then followed a scene of the wildest confusion. Múma bemoaning her wet clothes and abusing the offender, whom she espied at the window, in the most indecent language; her brother scarcely able to stand for laughter; and, to crown all, the sudden appearance of the irate *rašti* ordering us off the premises. Whereupon we marched in high glee down through the village away to the camp, where an admiring audience of the *rómani tšēl* listened to the *gínepen* of the whole event, while Múma dried her skirts on a string rigged up between two trees in front of the fire.

Poor *rašti*! I sometimes think that I treated him rather badly, but our tastes were absolutely dissimilar, and it was inevitable that we should at times fall out about a subject concerning which we both held such strong yet diametrically opposed opinions. Unfortunately for the Sponheim peasants and for the good *rašti* these Gypsy hordes never came singly: the advent of one meant weeks of insecurity in the village and countryside, weeks of argument and dispute in the Pfarrhaus. Thus it was that my next interview with the Gypsies was the cause of a letter being sent to my *dai*, of a mysterious nature, full

of covert hints and allusions to the effect that I was not what I had hitherto been held to be, and so on and so on, all of which put the *tšórlí ráni* in a terrible state of *trās*, and resulted, when the *tšátšepən* came out, in her never quite forgiving the *rašái* for his 'needless exaggeration.' The affair happened thus. Scarcely had Látela's party made themselves scarce, twenty-four hours before the time appointed, owing to the sudden disappearance of an ancient iron tripod, the property of Herr Schoppett, a most *kámlo gádšo*, who has often given me *píro lódepen* when the Pfarrhaus has been full up, when Kírevo¹ and Sín-to appeared to the west of the *gāv*, and Háina and his numerous followers to the south-east, the latter party encamping within a hundred yards of Brauch's Mühle. In vain the little village policeman, escorted by two stalwart ploughboys, visited both camps, telling the newcomers that another batch had only just left, and that it was not yet time for them to make their appearance.² Kírevo very justly said that he was not responsible for the movements and actions of the other band, pointing, by way of making his argument more forcible, to his black eye, due, he said, to a blow from one of the indiarubber cudgels which I mention in this article. Indeed *kárepen* had been raging for the last three weeks between the rival camps. So the place swarmed with the dark folk, and it was not surprising that, when returning from a music-lesson in the *Trušuléngero Féro*, I should come across Lín-da, very pretty and very dirty, and in most scanty attire. For some reason she had not decked herself out as the Gypsies generally do when busy in a village, but appeared in the simplest possible camp-dress: a bodice of some coarse brown stuff, a short skirt of the same material, completed her outfit. There had once been sleeves, they were now shreds; this was almost as true of the skirt. A *kúpla*, or belt, kept things together. *Yek sūp*, i.e. a single safety-pin, adjusted the front of the bodice, while for sole ornament she wore a large silver medal, tied to a piece of string, round her neck, the medal lying *ap lakr nángo kólin*. Her long hair hung down over her shoulders, somewhat clothing her.

It had been raining, and she was splashing at a good pace

¹ Kírevo = Godfather.

² This has been, till lately, the predominant attitude of the peasants of the Rhine to the Gypsy. Kind-hearted folk, they have felt a sort of pity for him and been willing to help him, provided he did not trouble them too often. It is otherwise with the class one degree higher than the peasants. There I found nothing but fierce hatred. This is peculiar, as the peasant suffers the most from the Gypsies' predatory habits.

down the hill bare-footed, through pools of water, taking the middle of the road, as the Gypsies always do. I greeted her. She appeared, strangely enough, bashful. There was an awkward silence, during which we could feel the eyes and hear the titters of the peasants, concealed, but with the doors wide open, in the dark recesses of their cottages. However, I persuaded Linda to turn and walk up the hill with me, and thus we arrived at the Pfarrhaus. Once in front of the door I hesitated as to what should be done next. Even I did not see my way to inviting her in. We stood on the doorstep together, and again one of those irritating and uncomfortable silences took possession of us. Suddenly the obvious idea struck me, and I sat down. But she did not follow. 'Na hal tu kîni!' I asked.—'Ava!'—'*Dâla beš tut, tšai, kai, paš mânde.*' And she did so. It was wonderful how this change of position loosened our tongues. In a moment we were talking naturally and sensibly, but for the life of me I cannot recall what it was about. Then I noticed the medal and put out my hand to examine it, turning it over, for the face was hidden. It was from Chicago! But I had no time to wonder how she came by it, for a noise like a sudden clap of thunder made us glare wildly up at the window (that of the *χimáskri*) immediately above the doorway. There were the *rašáieskr šéro ta ýtke*, his head and shoulders, and the clap of thunder was the one word 'Bernhardt!' Then he fell to abusing the girl. I shall never forget the scene. He used that objectionable word, which, both meaningless and yet so expressive in its modern acceptance, has always irritated me beyond measure. It has something low in it, used as it generally is by the stronger sex in contempt of the weaker; he called her a 'Frauenzimmer'! Linda bounded up, flushing darker, and with eyes aflame, and rushed to the garden gate. There she turned and took several steps back towards the door, with clenched fists, but her eyes flashing downwards on the gravel path. I expected an outburst, a roaring Romani one, such as is seldom heard outside the camp, but she turned and walked quietly away without a word to the *rašái* or to myself. There was a storm that evening in the Pfarrhaus, after which nothing was said about the matter, until about a week later I received an anxious letter from *mîri dai*. . . . *Har dînele hi i gádše!* What fools the gorgios are!

The majority of the German Gypsies I met did not possess vans, but carried all their goods and chattels in perambulators, and frequently in light carts drawn by themselves. The Saxony

Gypsies, already mentioned, kept a multitude of dogs, which they assured me they used for hunting hedgehogs. These same Gypsies had tough, black indiarubber bars, about two feet in length and slightly thicker at both ends, which they said were to *del tut ap tir šéro* in time of *kārepen*. Beyond this I have never come across special weapons. The German Gypsies do not seem to know of the English Gypsy tent. Theirs is much simpler and much inferior, consisting of three poles, the first a sort of ridge pole, resting its upper end on the fork formed by the two others, and its lower end on the ground.

The German Gypsies generally call themselves *Sinte*. *Kāle* is also applied to their race. They appear to have German as well as Gypsy names. Examples of the former are: Erbmann Rose, Johann Kaufmann, Frau Witwe Steinbach. Examples of the latter, some of them nicknames, are: *Gōšum*, *Gūdr*, *Kīkik*, *Batš*, *Lātela*, *Bāpo*, *Bi*, *Hāina*, *Hāmpa*, for men; and *Māma*, *Līnda*, *Josephine*, *Berta*, *Emma*, *Wāibela*, for women. *Petaléngro* is, as in England, a very common surname. But I confess to not having made a study of these names. Much of interest in connection with them will be found in Pott's wonderful work.

The dialect of Romanes spoken by the Gypsies of the Rhine Province is still a living language, spoken in preference to German, and with the utmost fluency, by hundreds of *Sinte*. Even when speaking German they appear to be thinking in Romanes, and their German vocabulary is sometimes surprisingly limited. I once heard a Gypsy boy use the Romanes pronoun of the first person singular—*me*—instead of *ich*, when speaking to Germans in German. But Professor F. N. Finck's admirable little grammar of this dialect did not appear a day too soon. It is frightful to think that in all probability the German Romanes is doomed to die out in the near future. I may be too pessimistic, but there are ominous signs of impending calamity, both in the language and in the treatment which the Gypsies receive at the hands of the *gādšikano* Prussian State. The children are forcibly baptized and sent to school, while their parents go to penal servitude. A German friend forwarded to me in 1904, when I was in Spain, the following cutting from a local German newspaper, reading which the world waxed dark before mine eyes, as the Arabs put it, and my blood boiled within me:—

'St. Wendel, 25 Jan. Eine erhebende (note this adjective)

Feier vollzog sich gestern im hiesigen Hospital, nämlich die Taufe von 10 Heidenkindern, die zur Zwangserziehung in der Anstalt unterbracht wurden. Es sind dies die Kinder der Zigeunerbande, die im verflossenen Sommer wegen Vagabundierens in unserer Gegend von der Gendarmerie aufgegriffen und vom Gerichte zur Zwangsarbeit nach Brauweiler geschickt wurden.'

Poor little Bápo and Bi! I can picture them in the humdrum life of the *Anstalt*, cramped up on spotlessly clean school-benches in a 'cheerful,' 'healthy,' 'well-aired' schoolroom, imbibing the bosh and tomfoolery of 'primary education,' shunned and mocked on account of their colour by other little gorgio outcasts, likewise inmates of the Hospital, and, most *erheblich* of all, taught to look down upon, *Ai Dévla Roméngero!* their own parents, and told that they have been saved by society from the evil life and evil ways of those who made them; while their father, Háina, is 'being made a man of,' having every vestige of self-respect thrashed out of him by respectable gorgios hired for the purpose; and Lúnda, far-famed for her beauty and the symmetry of her figure, deprived of her *rom*, robbed of her *tsáve*, unprotected, has German officialdom or society 'provided' for her too?

Things being as they are, despondency is at least excusable. Meanwhile, it is the duty of every student of a Gypsy dialect to show it as it is, not as it might be, and Professor Finck's grammar does this most admirably, being short and concise, with nothing essential left undiscussed. My own experiences in connection with the language differ in one or two instances from those of the Professor, and there are, besides, several points of interest in the dialect which might be worth noting here.

I. THE VERB

In dealing with the verb, Professor Finck says (Rule 12, remark 1) that when the circumlocution used in rendering the infinitive depends on a conjugable verb, the verb in the circumlocution invariably stands in the third person singular, which may be regarded as a sort of stereotyped neutral form, the person being already clearly denoted in the first or principal clause. Example (from Professor Finck): *Me kamáva kère te dšal*, 'I want to go home,' and (from my notes) *Muk man te matševél*, 'Let me go fishing.' This rule does not always hold good, however. Múma often said to me, *Me kamávo te dikáp tut*, 'I am glad to see you,' where she might have equally well said, . . . *te dikél tut*,

the person being already expressed in *Me kamávo*. Where the verb in the first clause is not conjugable my notes bear out Professor Finck entirely; the person must then be expressed in the dependent clause. Example: *Húnde dšap kère, húnde dšal kère, húnde dšas kère*, 'I must go home,' 'he must go home,' 'thou must or we must go home.'

II. THE PLUPERFECT

With reference to remark 2 of the above Rule 12, concerning the imperfect and pluperfect, I have heard the pluperfect used with a perfect meaning, but with a certain doubt cast on the simple statement of a past action. Example: *χeyál graiëskro mas*, 'Thou hast eaten horse-flesh'; but *χeyáles graiëskro mas*, 'They say that thou hast been eating horse-flesh.'

III. THE CASE-ENDINGS AND THEIR USE

(a) It is well known that the classical case-ending of the instrumental singular *-sa* becomes *-ha* in the German dialect. My Gypsies went two steps further: *-ha* frequently became *-he*, and this then became *-r* with a lengthening of the preceding vowel. This latter fact I noticed in the instrumental of pronouns and in the instrumental of the word *tšátšepən*, used in the sense of 'truly,' 'indeed.' Examples: from *Deblësa*—*Deblëha*, *Deblëhe*; from *túsa*—*túha*, *túhe*, *túr*; from *tšátšepäsa*—*tšátšepáha*, *tšátšepár*. In the plural an *r* is, in my notes, invariably added to the ending *-tsa*, and the *t* of that ending disappears: from *sinténtsa*, *sinténser*; from *roméntsa*, *roménser*; also *mánser*, 'with me'; *ménser*, 'with us'; *teménser*, 'with you' from *tuméntsa*. Note also, in connection with this *-r*, *temér* for *tumé*, *tumén*, 'you.'

(b) A distinction between the use of the dative in *-ke* and that in *-te* does not exist, in spite of Professor Finck's assurance that the latter is only used in connection with a preposition. I am inclined to think that the rule is: *-ke* and *-te*, when denoting ordinary datives, are interchangeable, and *-ke* is never used with a preposition. Examples: *Ā paš mánde*, 'Come near me,' never *ā paš mánge*; *Me penávo túke tšomóni*, 'I will tell you something'; *Dē mánde tír vast*, 'Give me your hand'; *Dē túte yak*, 'Be careful,' literally 'Give thee an eye'; *Dē mánde tír kángli, te hangeváp man*, 'Give me your comb, to comb myself.'

(c) I found the use of the dative in *-ke* more extensive than Professor Finck found to be the case. True, I never heard

Dē man χāvāske for *Dē man te χal*, 'Give me to eat' (see his Rule 31, remark); but I certainly heard the following: *Māre dšúvia tšoréne pūviéngre, te hi men tšomóni kerepáske*, 'Our women will steal potatoes, that we may have something to cook.' Further, in drinking a man's health, it is customary to use the dative in *-ke* of *sástepen*: *Tir sastepáske*, 'To your health.'

(d) Most interesting of all is the way in which the Gypsies of the Rhine Province ask and tell the time, a method of which Professor Finck makes no mention. They use the dative in *-ke* of the plural of the word *kétsi*, *kétsi*, meaning 'how much' (Sanskrit *kati*, Latin *quot*), followed by the word *kampána*. Thus: *Ketšéngé kampána?* 'What o'clock is it?'¹ The answer is formed in the same way, this time with or without *kampána*: *Trinéngé, štūrénge, oxténgé, dešéngé kampána*, 'Three, four, eight, ten o'clock.' To express 'one o'clock' the singular of *yek* is used, and *yek* is declined like a feminine noun: *Yekáke kampána*.

IV. ANIMATE AND INANIMATE OBJECTS

The German Gypsies make a distinction in the declension of nouns, as to whether the noun denotes an animate or an inanimate object. In the latter case the noun never takes the accusative, or the dative in *-te*. But even if the noun denote an animate object it need not necessarily take the accusative, or the dative in *-te*, though it is probably better Romanes that it should do so. Examples: *Láha ménge máre dšúkles*, 'Let us take our dog.' *Láha ménge máro dšúklo* would not be so good, but would pass. But *Dikáva ye dūd*, 'I see a light'; *Dē mánde tir vast*—never *vastes*—and so on. Similarly *Har ráxa hal tu paš o rašii* would be correct for 'How long have you been (literally 'are you') at the priest's, but *paš o rašiste* would be better. Following the same fundamental rule, we find adjectives and adjectival pronouns taking the oblique form *-e* (masc.), *-a* (fem.) only when followed by nouns denoting animate objects. Thus: *pal kói tsága*, 'after that train,' but *pal kóla tsáte*, 'after that girl.' *Haivé tu tši máro komástar*, 'You understand nothing of our affairs' (literally 'our thing'), but *lútše malénser*, 'with good companions.' This rule is so inexorably adhered to that when the abstract noun *térnepén*, 'youth,' is used to denote a baby, it at once is capable of assuming the accusative, giving the unique form in *-pas*, otherwise only known as helping to form the dative in *-ke*, the genitive, ablative,

¹ Cf. Lat. *Quota hora est?*

and instrumental of abstract nouns, as the above *sustepáske* from *sástepen*. Example: *Me lúškíva térnepas*, 'I am carrying the baby.' I believe this to be the only instance of its kind in German Romanes. I suppose *paš ternepáste*, 'by the baby,' would therefore be correct, though I never heard it.

V. CONTRACTIONS AND PECULIAR FORMS

(a) I have never heard *dai* and *tšai* uncontracted in the oblique cases, accusative singular, or in the plural. Always *tšakr bal*, 'the girl's hair,' for *tšaiákr bal*; *leskr dátar daréla*, 'he is afraid of his mother'; *dikáva tša kóte*, 'I see a girl yonder,' for *dikáva tšáia*.

(b) The feminine singular *káia*, *kóia*, etc., from *káva*, *kóva*, 'this,' 'that,' etc., is nearly always contracted into *kái*, *kói*.

For the plural *kúle*, *kóle*, 'these,' 'those,' I have heard *kálo*, *kólo*.

(c) The ending *-áva* of the first person singular present of all verbs is generally contracted into *-ávo*, and often into *aũ*, as: *Me dšáũ-mange kére*, 'I am going home.' Both the contracted and the uncontracted forms occur in the following verse, told to me by a child of nine from among the Saxony Gypsies:—

'Kamě tut man, so kamávo tut me ;

Dšá-tuke tu, so rováva me.'

('If you love me, then I love you ;

And if you go away, then I shall cry.)

The *-éla* of the third person singular present is often pronounced *-éle* and then becomes *-élye*, as: *Kái rat vélye o páro rom pále*, 'To-night the old man is coming back.' *Hoi kaméle-li?* 'What does she want?' *Kaméle te dšal ano gāv, máro te mangél*, 'She wants to go into the village, to beg bread.'

VI. NEGATIVES

I never heard *bi* used in forming negative adjectives. My Gypsies invariably used *tši*, as *tšilatšo*, for *bilátšo*, 'bad'; *tšisukar*, 'ugly.' They also used it for 'not,' as well as the *gār* and *nít* and *na* mentioned by Professor Finck. Examples: *Me daráva gār*. *Me dávo túke les tši*, *me dikáva les nit*, *na dšáũ kái rat*. Lastly, they used *tši* for 'no,' as well as *na*, *náne*. Example: *Hal tu káno? Tši!*

VII. TE

Te has still a very extensive use in every form of dependent clause, but German forms, *dass*, *weil*, *nachdem*, *wenn*, *ob*, *falls*, are

creeping in. Sometimes the German word loses its meaning when used by the *Kdle*: I have heard *indem* used in the sense of 'because.'

VIII. FUTURE PASSIVE

A most dreadful *Erscheinung*, vividly bringing home to one the danger and destruction towards which German Romanes is rushing, is found in the miserable attempt to translate the German future passive form *wird . . . werden* by a double use of the verb *aváva*, 'become.' Professor Finck's Gypsies do not seem to have debased themselves to this extent. Example: Und *kái Fíngsta, véla tír kóva vélye rákrdo*, 'And at the coming Whitsuntide your affair will be discussed,' after the analogy of the German *wird besprochen werden*.

IX. PÚTE

I am unable altogether to explain the form *púte* instead of *túke*, as I find no mention of it in books on Gypsy language. I have it in the song *trín berš ta díves*, which will be found below. I believe it to be formed by analogy with the reflexive third person singular present, *péste, péstar*, and so on, and that in the same way as they say *Mō¹ dšal pesk' o gádšo*, 'Let the gorgio be gone,' they have come to say, as in the song: und *kána vé-pute gār*, 'and supposing thou shouldst not come back.'

I now subjoin genuine specimens of the dialect.

In the following examples I have used Professor Finck's script, except that I have discarded his *j*, as calculated to give an Englishman the impression of the *j* sound in the English 'joke,' 'judge,' etc. Further, I have used everywhere *e*, never *ə*, and *ng* instead of *ŋ*. This is merely for convenience' sake. Where the *ə* sound is scarcely perceptible, as in *graiénggro*, I have omitted any sign whatever. Lastly, I have used *v* throughout instead of *w*. The sound is bilabial, though not our English *w*.

I. Taken down from Látela, Gúdr, Múma, Petaléngro, etc.,

August 1903

Mála, apo túte hí ye prdse- Comrade, a disgrace has
pen, und kái Fíngsta hí men fallen on you, and this Whit-
ye tsílo; te véne bútrdr Sínte suntide we have a gathering;

¹ In the above example *mō dšal . . .*, *mō* is an alternative way of forming the imperative of *muk, mek*, to 'let,' 'allow.' This is not mentioned by Professor Finck.

kétene: hunde véla tiro kóva vélye rákrdo, und doi hunde dikés tut glan.¹ Hoi tíre Sínte keréne túe,² doi hunde ves tu mit zufrieden. I Sínte andén apo túte pré.³ Xeyáles graiés-kro mas! Te hi nit tsátšo, dann hi túke féderdr.

and many Gypsies are coming together: your affair is going to be discussed, and there you will have to be careful. You will have to be contented with what your Gypsies decide as regards you. The Gypsies are enraged against you. It is said that you have been eating horse-flesh. If this be not true, then it will be all the better for you.

II. Taken down a month later from the same sources

Térni tsai, dē túte yak: o térho tsávo véle pále túte. Baše-véla tiri hárfa, raiservéla tíre séle. Dšále yob ani ketšma und keréle-lo lódepen. O ketšimáro mukýás ani šúrna; yob déle men þus. Hi ntina ye kámlo gádšo, und mū tsorén-mange tši. Véles šáda kále látše gādšeske, denn kávo hi immer ye látšo lódepen. Taisárla dšáhamenge dárdr, denn kai véla ye tsílatšo klísto; te vás-menge sik tran o gāv. Denn kávo klísto šunéla mángepen, kávo štiléles men; dařór⁴ hi féderdr te ham tran o gāv.

Young girl, be careful: the young boy is coming after you. He will play your harp, he will tear your strings. He is going into the tavern and he will get (literally 'make') a lodging. The innkeeper has allowed [us] into the barn; he will give us straw. Moreover, he is a kind gorgio, and they (i.e. the others) must not steal anything. It would be a pity for this good gorgio, for this is always a good lodging. To-morrow we will go further, for a wicked mounted policeman will come here; we must get out of the village quickly. For if this policeman hears of [our] begging, he might arrest us; therefore it is better that we should be out of the village.

III. From Látela, August 1903

Mála, dšanéhe hoi keráha? Me piáha mári lovína und lá o vádr ano vast und dšā ganz

Comrade, do you know what we'll do? We will drink our beer and take the door by the

¹ From the German *sich versehen*.

² *túe* for *tuhe*.

³ From the German: *gegen jemanden aufgebracht sein*.

⁴ *dařór* = Gypsy pronunciation of *dafür*.

pokóni und dšáha-menge, denn handle and go quite quietly and
kále gádše hi zu tšilatšes; denn get away, for these gorgios are
kai ne xás-menge máre šúkar too bad; and might we not here
*dába!*¹ get a good thrashing!

IV. From Petaléngro

Térno tšávo, dšás-menge apo Young lad, let us go a-buying
párepen. Me dšanáva noch and selling. I know of another
ye pári velyóna. Kóia bitševá old violin. That one we will
krik. Bitševéle mänge dui vel- send away. He (i.e. the dealer)
*yóni und biš nak.*² will send us two violins and
 twenty marks.

V. From the same

Térno tšávo, lá máre dšúkles, Young lad, let us take our
dšát-menge kólo bor, rodát-menge dog, let us go to yonder hedge,
*štaxeléngere*³ *te hi men tšomóni* and look for hedgehogs, that we
kerepáske. Máre dšávia tšoréne may have something to cook.
mänge puvíéngere. Har hí-tuke, Our women will steal potatoes
térni tšai, dšáha-menge? for us. What do you say, young
 girl, shall we go?

VI. From Frau Witwe Steinbach, of Coblenz. (Dictated at 6.30 P.M. of an autumn day: my last interview with German Gypsies. I was sitting in her van, and she had been giving me sundry pieces of advice touching upon every imaginable subject.)

*Látši dšves,*⁴ *dádéskro tšávo!*⁵ Good day, my good fellow!
Hal tu dšúdšo murš? Hášte Are you a clean man? Can I
vraierváva túke múro válin? pass you my glass? I will drink
Me piáva tür. Húnde des man with you. You must give me
tir dádéskro vast, indem vélye your right hand, for so many
yáke búte vrínkerdo, ohne me impostors come here with whom
kékom pašál. I cannot associate.

VII. The following conversation was held between me and a party of Gypsies whilst walking from Kreuznach to Waldböckel-

¹ Literally 'to eat hits.' This is probably an expression dating from the Gypsies' first entrance into Europe, or even earlier. The Turks and Persians have the same saying.

² *nak* is Romanes slang for a mark, literally 'nose.'

³ From the German *Stachel*; hence *štaxeléngere*, 'prickly one.'

⁴ My Gypsies, strangely enough, almost always treated *dšves* as a feminine noun.

⁵ *dádéskro* is often synonymous with *tšatšo*, *tšatšéno*, 'true,' 'unalloyed,' 'pure,' etc.

heim, a distance of about twelve miles. I met them in the street quite by chance, and we forthwith entered a tavern together. They had got various musical instruments with them. Their camp was outside Waldböckelheim, whither they were returning after a good morning's business in Kreuznach. I met them at about two o'clock in the afternoon. (Látela, Gūdr, Petaléngro, and three others, including myself.)

Látela: *Látši díves, mro tšávo! Har dšál-tuke? Káter avés? Kai hi tir látšo mal, Petaléngro. Har hí-tuke, dšáha-menge an káia katšma und koi piá-menge lovtina, und te piám mari mól, pále dšá-menge noch bísla dárdr ano fóro. Vielleicht hatsús noch sinton, denn ano kávo báro fóro koi hi immer sínte. Dšané tu hoi? Te hatsáha mlen, pále dšá-menge ani katšma und lá máro bášepn, und pále baševá-menge. Pále, te véna i murš dáte, pále plaiser-véna-menge lovtina. Te piám tšáles, pále dšá-menge kēre und bešáha-men, und len mekáha.*

Látela: Good day, my boy! How are you? Where are you coming from? Here is your good friend Petaléngro. What do you think, shall we go into this inn and there drink beer? and after drinking our wine, we will go again yet a bit further in the town. Perhaps we may find other Gypsies, for in this big town here there are always Gypsies. Do you know what? If we find companions, we will go back to the inn and take our music and play again. Then, if men (i.e. gorgios) come there, they will again pay our beer for us. When we have drunk our fill, we will go back home and rest (literally 'seat ourselves'), and we will leave them.

One of the others: *Látši mól kói!*

One of the others: This is good wine!

(N.B.—The inn-keeper is scowling at us.)

All together: *Tir sastepáske; piés, ves báxtalo. Te dšivés, tšová!*

All together: To your health, may you drink, may you be lucky, may you live, comrade!

We go out into the street and walk on a bit in silence.

Myself to Petaléngro: *Mála, diġ mol¹ kói vérkli. Sávi šúkar rákli hi kói!*

Myself to Petaléngro: Comrade, look at that necklace. What a pretty girl that is yonder!

¹ *mol*, German *mal*.

Petaléngro: *Kóia*¹ *kamáves me ntáa. Dík mol,*² *mála, sáve súkar yáka hi la! Doch hi ye gádši. I sínte hi gózvrdt har i gádše.*

Petaléngro: I too would like her. Look, comrade, what lovely eyes she has! And yet she is a gorgio. The Gypsies are cleverer than the gorgios.

We have walked faster than the others, and are somewhat ahead of them.

Petaléngro: *Me ladšáú man tútar, aber kamé tu te patsevés*³ *mánde lóve? Daú túke les pále.*

Petaléngro: I am ashamed of myself before you, but will you lend me money? I will give it you back.

Myself: *Hoi kamé tu?*

Myself: What do you want?

Petaléngro: *Dē mánde dui nak.*

Petaléngro: Give me two marks.

Myself: *Místo: lé-tuke doch.*

Myself: All right, take it then.

*Petaléngro (suddenly): Na rakvé tu Válstikes? (and before I have time to answer) Me búte-váva gār! 'Búti hi díneléngel' Parkerváú-man túke. I lóve langéla.*⁴ *Lulerváva ap máre malénde.*

Petaléngro (suddenly): Don't you speak French? (and before I can answer he continues) I won't work! Work is for fools (Gypsy proverb). I thank you (literally 'I thank me to you'). The money is sufficient. Let us wait for our comrades.

The others come up. They have been joined by Múma, probably on the outskirts of the town. We are now on the high-road, out in the country. The road is lined with apple-trees.

Látela: *Atš ye bísla, tsávo. Mā našé tu yáke sik. Táisa ráti piyóm zu búte lovtáa, dáfor dukála kái-taisárla mro séro. (Múma sála.)*

Old Látela (panting): Wait a bit, boy. Don't run so fast! Last night I drank too much beer, therefore to-day my head is aching. (Máma laughs.)

Myself: *Me ntáa hom ktno.*

Myself: I too am tired.

Múma (mockingly): *Hí o tsórló ráklo!*

Máma (mockingly): Poor laddie then!

Látela: *Pierváva-menge káte*

Látela: Let us walk along

¹ *kola* would have been better than *kóia*.

² *mol*, German *mal*.

³ *patšava, patšava*, 'believe,' means also 'lend.' Cf. our 'credit' and Borrow's *pazzorhus*.

⁴ From German *langen*.

prē. Māla, diġ mol sávo šúkar ruk hi káva; sáve šúkar pába hídšél-lo.

Petaléngro: Lávó len. (Keréle les.)

Múma (to me): Dšivéla o dād noch?

Myself: Óne due.

there. Comrade, look what a fine tree that is! What lovely apples it is bearing.

Petaléngro: I will take them. (He does so.)

Múma: Is your father still alive?

Myself: Both parents are still living.

She does not follow up the conversation.

Petaléngro: Te ham kēne, hūnde givás. Ap kai, Látela, áven akái, tšavále! givámenge 'o zénelo ruk o bólepen.' (Giváha.)

Myself: Kói hi ye látsi gġli, aber haivávo-la gār: temér givéne kyáke sik!

Múma: Sáste kelés? Me keldávo tūr táisa ráti ani ker-tšma.

Látela: Šundál tu? Véla Depléskro tstro. Kái rat dēla bríšno.

One of the others: *Dšámenge síkrder, man hi káni bok.*

Another: *Hi ntna šúlelo dósta. Kána váha-menge ani plátsa an,¹ kerás-menge ye bári yák, te tatševá-men.*

Látela: Tšatšepár! Hi ntna ye bári brável.

Myself: Míšto, akána dšáũ-mange kére.

Látela: Dšá-tuke?

Myself: Áva! Dšáũ-mange kai, drīn o vėš, o 'Bášno,' te paš

Petaléngro: As we are tired, we ought to sing. Come here, Látela, come here, boys! Let us sing 'The Green Tree, the Sky.' (We sing.)

Myself: That is a good song, but I don't understand it, you sing so fast.

Múma: Can you dance? I will dance with you to-morrow night in the tavern.

Látela: Did you hear? a storm (literally 'God's weather') is coming. There will be rain to-night.

One of the others: Let us go faster, I am now getting hungry.

Another: It is also rather cold. When we arrive at 'the place' we will make a big fire, and warm ourselves.

Látela: Truly! There is also a great wind.

Myself: Good, now I am going home.

Látela: Are you going?

Myself: Yes! I am going here through the wood, the 'Hahn,'

¹ German, *ankommen*.

*o Brauxéskr yaréskeri und yáke
Kére.*

*Látela: Vē tu pal o xāben
pāle āni plātsa?*

*Myself: Kái dīves hi man
kek tstro. Hūnde sikerváp.*

Látela: Dšá Debléhe!

Máma: Látši rat!

*Petaléngro: Sōv mīšto tir
tšáha.*

Myself: Atšen Debléhe!

*In the distance I hear the
song:*

O zénelo ruk, o bólepen.

Ap kai gináb túke tren:

His ye kyáke šúkar tšai,

Hí le, hí le . . .¹

*but the trees now shut out both
sight and hearing.*

*and by 'Brauch's Mühle,' and
thus home.*

*Látela: Will you come back
to 'the place' after dinner?*

*Myself: To-day I have no
time. I must study.*

Látela: Go with God!

Máma: Good night!

Petaléngro: Sleep well!

Myself: Remain with God!

*In the distance I hear the
song:*

The Green Tree, the Sky.

Come here, I'll tell thee a tale:

*There was once such a pretty
girl; she has, she has . . . but*

*the trees now shut out both sight
and hearing.*

VIII. The following songs were taken down from German
Gypsy children:—

TRIN BERŠ TA DÍVES, ÁI!

(Ah! Three Years and a Day)

Trin berš ta dīves, ái!

Diká-men pālī.

Ná-kova k'ráš me gār,

Mir lóli rákalī!

Ah! three years and a day,

*We shall see each other once
more.*

This I cannot bear,

My rosy-[cheeked] lass!

¹ The complete song is as follows:—

O zénelo ruk, o bólepen.

Ap kai, gináb túke tren:

His ye kyáke šúkar tšai,

Hí le, hí le fūneli dai.

Háko vinklo háko šdla,

His kóva tšávo pále kóla tšáte,

Pa líkr bül!—

Táisa štlo pře

His kóva nak p'ádo fül!

The words *vinklo* and *šdla* are both from the German. The last two lines are somewhat puzzling. The translation given was 'He got up on the morrow, his nose besmeared with filth.' *P'ádo*=*piérdo*.

Und kana dšá-tuke tu,	And when you go away,
Und kana vé-pute gār!	And if you ne'er come back!
Ná-kova k'ráu me gār,	This I cannot bear,
Mir lóli rákalī!	My rosy- [cheeked] lass!

NOTE.—The second *a* in *rákalī* and the long *i* are only heard when sung also *pāli* for *pāle* occurs only in songs.

O MŪLO, TA TÉRNI TŠAI

(The Ghost and the Young Girl)

<i>Káter dšal o mūlo.</i>	Yonder goes a ghost.
<i>Me daráva gār!</i>	I fear him not, I fear him not!
<i>Káter dšal o mūlo.</i>	Yonder goes a ghost.
<i>Me daráva gār!</i>	I fear him not, I fear him not!
<i>Térni tšai, me kamávo tut.</i>	Young girl, I love thee.
<i>Vé ye bisla kai;</i>	Come a bit with me;
<i>Ve mol ye bisla mantsar</i>	Come just a bit along with me
<i>Ano zénelo vėš.</i>	Into the green wood.

ÉFTA PŔĀL

(The Seven Brothers)

<i>Ai tšai, ai tšai, ai tšai!</i>	O my girl, my girl!
<i>Hoi me kerdóm!</i>	What have I done!
<i>Ach Báro Dével, hoi kerdóm!</i>	Ah, great God, what have I done!
<i>Me ham mit máre éfta pŕāl.</i>	We are with our seven brothers.
<i>Me k'ráu les vrin.</i>	I will get him out.
<i>Dort gibt's kein Gut;</i>	There bodes no good;
<i>Da fließt, da fließt Dein teures</i>	There flows, there flows thy
<i>Blut!</i>	precious blood!
<i>Ai tšai, ai tšai, ai tšai!</i>	O my girl, my girl!

NOTE.—The 'seven brothers' occur in many songs, but I can find nothing about them. The Gypsies appear not to know what is referred to. They often mix strange German verses probably of their own invention, with otherwise pure Gypsy songs.

HOI KAMÁVA

(What I Love)

<i>Šúkar tšai, kamés-man,</i>	Pretty girl, thou lovest me,
<i>Te me kamávo tut.</i>	And I too love thee.
<i>Kek pári k'máu me gār!</i>	No old hag love I at all!
<i>I šúkar, téрни tšai!</i>	A pretty, and a young girl!

VI.—DIE ZIGEUNER IM VLASENICAËR BEZIRKE IN BOSNIEN

Mitteilungen von Prof. Dr. TIHOMIR R. GJORGJEVIĆ in Belgrad.

Nach der serbischen Handschrift verdeutscht von

Dr. FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS in Wien

HERR STEVO STEFANOVIĆ, Redakteur der *Srpska Rijec* in Sarajevo in Bosnien, stellte mir nachfolgende Angaben über die Zigeuner im Bezirk von Vlasenica des Tuzlaër Bezirkes in Bosnien, zur Verfügung.

Herr Stefanović ist aus Vlasenica gebürtig und kennt seinen Geburtsbezirk genau. Darum sind diese Angaben zuverlässig und ist nichts gegen sie einzuwenden.

Im Vlasenicaër Bezirke gibt es mehr Zigeuner als in irgend einem andern bosnischen oder herzogländischen Bezirke. Von den 34,000 Einwohnern dürften, denke ich—zuverlässig weiss ich es zwar nicht—mehr als 2000 angesiedelter Zigeuner sein. Sie bilden in keiner Beziehung ein Ganzes, sondern verteilen sich auf drei Gruppen, von denen eine mit der anderen fast in keinerlei Beziehung steht. Das sind: die *Weissen Zigeuner* (*bijeli cigani*), die da im Städtchen Vlasenica selbst angesiedelt sind; die *Karavlas* (*Schwarzwalachen*), die im Dorfe Gojčén in der Nähe des Klosters Papraća wohnen, und die *Gurbeti* oder *Kotlari* (Kesselschmiede) oder einfach *Zigeuner* (*cigani*), die im Džemat und zu Barice hausen.

1. Die *weissen Zigeuner* im Städtchen Vlasenica sprechen blos serbisch, bekennen sich zum Islām, ohne sich zwar wie die übrigen Moslimen an die religiösen Gebräuche zu halten und unterscheiden sich ihren Namen nach gar nicht von den Moslimen sonst, z. B. Mujo Hatić, Šaban Salkić, Redžo Hasanović u.s.w. Ihre Frauen verhüllen das Angesicht nicht; sie tragen blos ein Tüchel (*bošča*), wie halbwüchsige moslimische Mädchen. Nur ihr Typus verrät ihre zigeunerische Abstammung, sonst nichts. Die Männer befassen sich mit dem Schmiedehandwerk, mit Rosstäuschen (*džambusluk*), mit Bundholzverschleiss, oder sie dienen bei reicheren Leuten und sind insbesondere als Pferdewärter und Kutscher sehr verwendbar. Ihre Jungen sind durchwegs Jockeys (*binjedžije*) bei Wettrennen. Die Frauen dienen als Dienstboten in moslimischen Häusern oder verdienen sich sonst auf ehrliche Weise als Wäscherinnen ihr Brod. Die christlichen Serben geben

ihnen den Spottnamen *lahki*. Der weisse Zigeuner nennt sich vor einem Andersgläubigen stets einen Türken (*turčin* = Moslim), doch wagt er es nicht, sich so vor Moslimen zu heissen.

2. Die *Schwarzwalachen* (*Karavlas*) aus dem Dorfe Gojnić sind samt und sonders Altgläubige. Ihren Namen nach unterscheiden sie sich von den Serben gar nicht, z. B. Stanko Vasiljević, Luka Petrović, u.s.w. Im gegenseitigen Verkehr sprechen sie rumänisch, mit Fremden aber serbisch und zwar mit jener bekannten Akzentuierung und mit Anwendung eines *lj* statt eines *l* und *nj* für ein *n*, fast stets jedoch mit nasaler Aussprache. Die Männer unterscheiden sich in ihrer Tracht wenig von den altgläubigen serbischen Bauern, von jenen abgesehen, die als Musiker durch die Lande schweifen. Dagegen ist die Frauentracht ähnlich jener rumänischer Bäuerinnen im Banat. Die religiösen Satzungen: z. B. die Fasten beobachten sie sehr strenge und alle feiern das Sippenfest (*slava*) und zwar als Schutzpatronin die Heilige Paraskeue (*Petkovica*, am 14. Oktober). Sie befassen sich mit Bodenbestellung und nebenher mit Drechslerarbeiten (Schüsseln, Löffeln, Wiegen, Spindeln u.s.w.), die sie auf Märkten feilbieten. Ein Teil der Männer zieht als Musikanten in der Welt umher, kehrt aber regelmässig im Sommer zu den Feldarbeiten heim. Sie sind sehr strebsam, liegen nie dem Müssiggang ob, und stehen sich deshalb materiell ziemlich günstig. Unter den 80 Häusern in Gojnić fände man keine fünf, in denen den fremden Besucher ein gewisser Wohlstand nicht unerwartet überraschte. Beinahe in jedem Hause bedecken den Fussboden Kotzen und in manchen wahrhaftig auch Teppiche, lauter Handarbeiten der Frauen. Sie zeichnen sich rein augenfällig durch ihre Sauberkeit vor den serbischen Bauern aus. Sehr wichtig ist, dass die *Karavlas* den Leumund als Diebe gar nicht verdienen. Der Bezirksrichter in Vlasenica wies mir ihr Dorfbuch vor, aus dem man die schier unglaubliche Tatsache ersieht, dass seit der Okkupation Bosniens und des Herzogtums (1877) bis auf den heutigen Tag kein einziger Bewohner Gojčins irgend eines Verbrechens wegen bestraft worden ist. Es sind blos unbedeutende Disziplinarstrafen wegen Rauferei vermerkt.

Die Schwarzwalachen wissen über den Zeitpunkt ihrer Anwanderung aus Rumänien nichts zu sagen. Auf die Frage, was sie jetzt wären, antworten sie: *Serben*. Die Bezeichnung Zigeuner betrachten sie als eine Beleidigung. Obwohl sie in Nachbarschaft und guter Freundschaft mit den umwohnenden Serben leben,

kommt es dennoch niemals vor, dass eines ihrer Mädchen in ein serbisches Haus einheiratet oder dass einer von ihnen eine Serbin heimführte. Ihre Frauen sind, so wie auch die anderer bosnischer Zigeuner, sehr schön. Die Schwarzwalachinnen haben mehr runde Gesichter, während die weissen Zigeunerinnen und die Kubeterinnen länglichen Angesichtes sind.

3. Die *Gurbeti* oder *Kollari* oder einfach *Cigani* (Zigeuner) loben in den Dörfern Džemat und Barice. Sie gehören keinem Glaubensbekenntnis an. Untereinander sprechen sie zigeunerisch und sie schätzen ihre Sprache sehr hoch.¹ Ihre Tracht ist kunterbunt; so wohl Männer als Frauen tragen von Städtern oder Bauern abgelegte und ihnen geschenkte Kleidungsstücke, sie geben jedoch zumeist der roten oder gelben Farbe den Vorzug. An Markttagen kann man ihnen auf dem Vlasenicaër Markte in den verschiedensten Aufzügen begegnen, so z. B. mit einem Zylinder auf dem Haupte, mit irgend einem altertümlichen Dolman, häufig ohne Hemd und Unterleinenhosen und barfüssig. Das Land bebauen sie sehr spärlich und wenn schon, höchst mangelhaft. Fast alle befassen sich mit dem Verzinnergewerbe, Frauen und Kinder streifen halbnackt auf Bergen und Tälern umher, um Nüsse, Haselnüsse, Erdbeeren, Kranawitten (Schwarzdornbeeren), Heidelbeeren, Brombeeren, u.s.w., zu lesen. Selten erwischt man einen von diesen Zigeunern beim Diebstahl und trotzdem verfügen diese Zigeuner zur grössten Verwunderung der Vlasenicaër Marktleute über Geld. Häufig wechseln sie in Geschäftsläden und Schenken kaiserliche Dukaten, Rusprien, Rubeln und sogar Napoleondors um.² Sie sind äusserst misstrauisch und es hält sehr schwer, sei es was immer von ihnen zu erkunden, am wenigsten, woher sie das Geld haben. Es kostete mir unsäglich Mühe, ehe ich von betrunkenen Zigeunern irgend etwas über ihren Glauben erfahren konnte. Niemandem ist bekannt, ob sie auch irgend welche religiöse Zeremonien üben,

¹ Als ich sie gelegentliche zu Barice besuchte und ihnen sagte, ihre Sprache wäre die älteste von allen europäischen Sprachen, erdrückten sie mich schier vor lauter Freude und bewirteten mich mit ihrem minderwertigen Birnen- und Zwetschenbranntwein. So sehr schmeichelte ihnen meine Mitteilung.—STREVO STEFANOVIĆ. Die Meinung StefanoviĆ ist die der landüblichen Schulbücher. In Wirklichkeit ist das Zigeunerische nicht um einen Tag älter als irgend eine andere von den in Europa vorkommenden Volkssprachen.—FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS.

² Woher die Zigeuner ihr Geld haben?! Wäre es von Diebstählen her, so hüteten sie sich wohl, es frank und frei umzuwechseln, aber sie verdienen es sauer und bitter im Schweisse ihres Angesichtes, weil sie selbst die allerniedrigste Arbeit nicht scheuen, endlos arbeitsam sind und ein sparsames Leben ohnegleichen führen. Bei ihnen ist das Sparen und Erraffen von Geld förmlich Selbstzweck und nur bei gewissen Gelegenheiten hauen sie auf.—FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS.

doch sagte mir einmal ein betrunkenen Zigeuner, sie erkennen ein höchstes Wesen, das sie *Mraden Oro* heissen. Später war er in grosser Sorge, es könnten andere Zigeuner von seiner Mitteilung etwas hören. Ihre Namen sind: Hamza, Gavran, Mišo, Kurjak (Hamsa, Rabe, Michaelchen, Wolf), u.s.w., Zunamen aber gebrauchen sie keine. Serbisch sprechen sie mit einer ganz anderen Betonung als die Schwarzwalachen. Ihre Frauen verkaufen sie öffentlich zu Märkte und der Meistbietende führt sie gleich in sein Zelt ab. Bei dieser Gelegenheit putzt sich das betreffende Mädchen möglichst gut heraus, denn ausser dem, was sie auf sich hat, besitzt sie keine sonstige Mitgift. Die Kinder werfen sie gleich nach der Geburt in irgend ein Fass mit Wasser, zur Winterzeit in Eiswasser, im Sommer in gewöhnliches Wasser, und während das Kind im Wasser liegt, benannt man es, wobei Stimmenmehrheit entscheidet. Die Frauen beschäftigen sich auch mit Wahrsagung (aus der Hand oder aus Bohnen). Diese Gruppe Zigeuner isst im Notfalle auch Äser zahmer und wilder Tiere, Vögeleier u.s.w.

VII.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

NO 2. I RÁIKANI MŪRA

Taken down some years ago from Matthew Wood, who had learned this and his other stories from his paternal grandmother, Ellen Wood ('Black Ellen'), a granddaughter of Abram Wood. My fortunate rediscovery of this old *bošimáyeró* last August encamped near a village on the banks of the Alwen, has enabled me to add considerably to my store of tales, as well as to make some precise observations on phonetical minutiae.

In listening to long conversations between Wood and his sons, to whom Romani is still the mother-tongue, I was struck afresh with a peculiarity of the dialect which had often before impressed me—the unusual freedom of the accent, and the manner in which tonic stress may be varied to reflect the mood of the speaker. To give a few examples:—

The phrase *bārē mūrā*, 'great men,' may be accented in three different ways. The oxytone pronunciation of both adjective and substantive, *bārē mūrā*, as in the Greek dialect, is usually heard in slow, solemn, or emphatic narrative, though perhaps *bārē mūrā* is more ordinarily met with, while *bārē mūrā* is the form of rapid unemphatic speech. So with the prepositions one hears *pālē* beside *pālē*, and *ārō kēr* for *arē ō kēr*. Even the accent of the verb, though more stable, is frequently varied. Such accentuation as *kār'la*, 'he calls,' *kār'nas*, 'they were calling,' may be used instead of *kārēla* and *kārēnas*. While the normal accent of *mārāsa lā*, 'let us kill her,' would be *mārāsa lā*, *mār'sa lā* is also permissible, and in one of my last stories, *I Tārni Čikali*, a precious variant of 'Cinderella,' I heard even the pronunciation *mārāsā lā*. I hope shortly to furnish students of the dialect with fuller notes on this complicated and interesting point.

I have to correct a mistake in my story of *Ū Kālī Rānī* (text and note 4 on page 28). While *gg* in the genitive and dative plural is certainly heard from some members of the family of Wood, most of whom I know personally, it is never used by Matthew Wood or his children, who invariably pronounce *mayi*, not *maggi*, *ēaiēgi*, not *ēaiēggi*, *k'ērēgerō*, not *k'ērēggerō*, *kūrimāyerō*, not *kūrimāggerō*. This is probably the older and purer pronunciation, the other being perhaps due to intercourse with Locks, Lovells, Lees, and other English Gypsies who have also settled in Wales.

Ū Rāikani Mūra is a variant of the Bukovina story of 'Tropsyn' ('Die überwundene Amazone,' Mik., iv. 34-7). See *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 104-9, for the valuable note of F. H. Groome, to whom I supplied an abstract of this story. Compare also 'The Crow-Peri' in R. Nisbet Bain's *Turkish Fairy Tales* (1901), being a translation of Dr. Ignatius Kunos's *Török Népmesek*.

Ū RÁIKANĪ MŪRA

*Dūr dosta komónī¹ sas bār-
enēyō mūrš. P'urō, tā leskī
romnī kekār² 'as kek tiknē.
Lilē tiknō, t'ī gājē sār trasadē—
ō mūrš t'ī juvél ojd pūrē sas-lé
te len tiknō.*

*P'urō mūrš mūiās, tā ēavō
'yas leskō tan. T'ā akē pūrō
mūrš 'vela, tā ēavō dik'tās top
lestī. Ak'ō pūrō mūrš p'uēlla
lestē:³ 'Visa mansa, te dik'ās
mārē jivimāskī?'⁴ 'Aua!'
pēndās Jakos. 'P'en te kamēsa
mayī⁵ te 'vā pūrō grāi.' 'Aua,'
xoē'ov.⁶ 'Av top mō dumō.
Jasa meyi.'*

*Ak'on⁷ jana peyi. Ō pūrō
grāi tā Jakos jana top ō drom.
P'ēndās ō pūrō grāi ī Jakēskī:
'Komónī te dik'ēsas top ō drom,
ō⁸ te šunēsas, jā tā dik' sō sī 'dōi,
tā t'astīs kesa ēomónī, kēr les.'*

THE BEAUTIFUL HILL

Somewhere very far away
lived a quarryman. He was old,
and his wife had borne him no
children. They got a son, and
all the people were amazed—the
man and the woman were so old
to have a child.

The old man died and his
son took his place. And behold!
an old man came, and the son
looked upon him. The old man
asked: 'Wilt come with me to
seek our living?' 'Yes,' said
Jack. 'Say that thou wishest
me turned into an old horse.'
'Yes,' quoth he. 'Get on my
back; let us go.'

Now they set off. The old
horse and Jack journeyed on
the road. Said the old horse to
Jack: 'If thou shouldst see or
hear aught upon the road, go
look what it is, and if there is
ought to be done, do it.'

¹ *komónī*] 'some one,' 'any one'; 'somewhere,' 'anywhere'; with adj. (e.g. *Romanō komónī*) 'person.' Pott, i. 274, No. 10.

² *kekār*] Pasp. *kanēk far*, *kayēk far*, where *kan-ek*=Mod. Gk. *χὰν-εἰς*.

³ *lestē*] abl. after *p'uē*.

⁴ *jivimāskī*] = *jivibēnēskī*.

⁵ *mayī*] construction borrowed from vulgar Eng.—'say you'd like for me to become an old horse.'

⁶ *xoē'ov*] = *xoē'ov*.

⁷ *Ak'on*] = *Akē yon*.

⁸ *ō*] Eng. 'or.'

Ak'ō 'mē jasa p'ō' drom. Ak'ō 'mē lasa mūra. Ak'ō dāt jana 'kanā. 'Šunā mē ōmōnī. 'Jā tā dik' sō šī-lō. Talē g'as ō Jak from i greskō dumō te dikēl sō sas odōi. Dikās bita² mačō odōi ō pānī muktāsas³ odōi. Jak praēdās les oprē ō⁴ ēidās les arē ō pānī. Ak'ō mačō 'vela 'prē kī yov, tā xoč'ō mučō i Jakēski: 'Sō šīs kerāva mē tukī, Kārāv top mandī, ō mačēgrō kralis, tā kerāva les.' See, we are upon the road. Now we are taking the hill. Here go the twain. 'I hear something.' 'Go and see what it is.' Jack got down from the horse's back to see what was there. He saw a little fish. The water had left it. Jack picked it up and put it in the water. And lo! the fish came up to him. Quoth the fish to Jack: 'Whatsoever I can do for thee, call upon me, the king of the fishes, and I will do it.'

Jana peyī 'pārī⁵ i mūra. 'Mā čalā ēi sō dikēsa) (ō fetedēr kova ke dikē peyē 'Kensa).⁶ Ak'ō porr pūrdās ō bavāl arē leskō māī. Čuṇardās les avrī dūvarī ō trivalī.⁷ 'Vīds porr pāpalē. Tildās les arē ō vast. Rāikunō porr dikās.⁸ 'Yas les arē pōčī. Away they went over the hill. 'Touch not anything thou seest' (though it were the best thing they saw with their eyes). And behold! the wind blew a feather into his mouth. Twice or thrice did he spit it out. Back came the feather. He caught it in his hand. A pretty feather it seemed. He put it in his pocket.

P'urī filišin. Bārī godlī 'drē filišin. 'Jā 'prē tā dik' sō sī 'dōi, xoč'ō pūrō grāi. G'as te filišin tā kurdās ō gudār. Kek na 'vilē kī yov. Piradās ō gudār t' arē g'as te dikēl sō sas odōi. Dikās bārō mūrš top ō vodros, tā šīs kelās ēi peskī An old castle. A great noise within the castle. 'Go up and see what is there,' said the old horse. He went to the castle and knocked at the gate. None came to him. He opened the gate and entered to see what was there. On the bed he saw a

¹ p'ō]=pē ō. Pē as in Rum. Gyp. is a contracted form of oprē. Bryant has *kirchimo podrum*, 'an inn' = 'an inn on the road.'

² bita) m. and f.; pl. būti.

³ muktāsas) an instance of the rare pluperfect.

⁴ ō) ō or ū, 'and,' occasionally used in place of *tā*.

⁵ 'pārī]=oprād.

⁶ 'Kensa)=yakēnsa.

⁷ dūvarī ō trivalī) both these multiplicatives contain the *var* found also in *kekār* and *yekār*. Cp. Pott, i. 228.

⁸ dikās) lit. 'he saw,' here = 'he thought it.' Cp. W. Rom. *dikān len tu raikenē?* 'did you think them pretty?'

kokoréski. Nasvaló sas-lō. Kek būtiákeri oddí te del les xobén. 'Sō sī, bá?' 'Na kek būtiákeri akái. Já tā and mayi xobén. Já talé oddí, tā and korō lovina.' Xoiás ō bárō peskō përr pardō, tā bárō pendás leskī te kār'l top lestī, tā keldás any kova leskī.

Ak'on jana talé ō dāi. Xo'ō purō grái: 'Sō dikán tū top i mūra?' 'Dikóm mē ēi only bita porr t'ō bavál purdiás 'rē mō mēi.' 'Yan ō porr?' 'Aua! mandī šī-lō aré mīpōēi.' 'Akáva porr andēla 'men mižibén; aua riger les; mā muk les jal.'

Ak'ō mūrš g'as kī bārī fili-šin, te dikél būtiákī. 'Vias ō bárō rái te dikél leskō vast i kolésa.¹ Kuškó sas: na šis kūrēsas les kek.

Ok'ō palál tan te sōvél. Ō rái puštás lestē te sōvél ar' ō kēr. 'Ná!' xo'ō Jak, 'java mē aré i stanya kī mō purō grái.'

Trašadé sá sō kedás yov akáva porrésa. Yek divés būtiákerō penulás peskī gájéskī: 'K'ār les akái, ráia, te lū leskō porr.' K'ārdás les ō gájó. Gīás. Ō būtiákerō 'yas ō porr avrí. Vavér porr čidás yov top i mesáli.

'Ráia, mandī šī-lō. Ō mūrš te andiás ō porr akái šis andél

giant. He could do nothing for himself. He was ill. There was no handmaid to give him food. 'What is it, my man?' 'I have no servant. Go, bring me food. Go down there and bring a cup of beer.' The giant ate his bellyful, and told him to call upon him if he could do aught for him.

Now the two journeyed down. Said the old horse: 'What didst see on the hill?' 'I saw nothing but a little feather that the wind blew into my mouth.' 'Didst take the feather?' 'Yes, it is in my pocket.' 'This feather will bring us trouble; but keep it, do not let it go.'

And behold! the man went to a great castle to seek work. The master came to see his craft with the thing. It was good. Thou couldst not beat it.

Then he sought a place to sleep. The master asked him to sleep in the house. 'No,' said Jack, 'I shall go to my old horse in the stable.'

All marvelled at his craft with this feather. One day the servant said to the master: 'Call him hither, master, that I may take his feather.' The master called him. He went. The servant took away the feather. He put another feather on the table.

'Sir, I have it. The man who brought the feather can

¹ i kolésa] lit. 'with the thing,' instr. sing. of *kova*.

ō *čeriklō akāi.* P'endās ī *purē greskī*: 'Ō *rāi wontsēla čeriklō.* 'Jā, Jak, *tā pūē lestē te del tut trin divesd tā trin kisid sōnakāi.* Jana *pejī te len ō čeriklō.* 'Jak, *jā kī filišin tā jā 'rē. Dikēsa len ke mesāli te xona. Mā čald ēi. Dikēsa ēiklō čeriklō arē kunsus arē kēja.*¹ Jā *tā lē lā, tā mā ač.*

Ak'ō 'velu avrī te ō *purō grāi ī čeriklēsa. Jana pālē ō dūt, tā čeriklō sas andilō. Ak'ō rāi tā būtiākerō rakerēna tā dikēna top ō čeriklō. Ō būtiākerō p'endās ī reskī*: 'Ō *čeriklō sī ruikanō; ī rānt sī raikanedēr pāpālē. Xo'ō būtiākerō ī reskī*: 'Odōva *mūrš te andiās ō čeriklō akāi sīs andēl ī rānt akāi.*

Ak'ō Jak avrī 'kanā k'ō *purō grāi. P'endās ī greskī ō rāi wontsēlas ī rānt. 'P'endlōm mē tukī, Jak, trušūl ō porr. Jā tā pūē lestē trin divesd tā trin kisid sōnakāi.* Ak'ō Jak *jala pālē te pūkavēl ī reskī. 'Yas ō lōvō tā trin divesd.*

Ak'ō jana *pejī. Top ō drom rakerēna. Purō grāi p'endās Jakēskī*: 'P'en *tū, Jak, te 'vā mē bēro top ī dārīāv.* Sār *sig sas ō lav p'endilō, okē sas ō bēro top ō dārīāv.*

Ak'ō *dūt jana 'kanā ar' ō bēro. Arē ō bēro ō šernō*²

¹ *kēja*] Eng. 'cage.'

bring the bird.' He said to the old horse: 'The master wants the bird.' 'Go, Jack, and ask him to give thee three days and three purses of gold.' They went to get the bird. 'Jack, go to the castle and go in. Thou wilt see them at the table eating. Touch nothing. In a cage in the corner thou wilt see a mean-looking bird. Go, take it, tarry not.'

And behold! he came with the bird to the old horse. The twain went back and the bird had been brought. Now the master and the servant talked and looked at the bird. The servant said to the master: 'The bird is pretty; the lady is prettier still.' Quoth the servant to the master: 'That man who brought the bird can bring the lady.'

And lo! Jack went out to the old horse. He told the horse that the master desired the lady. 'I warned thee about the feather, Jack. Go, beg of him three days and three purses of gold.' Now Jack went back to ask the master. He got the money and the three days.

Now they departed. On the road they were talking. Said the old horse to Jack: 'Jack, wish me turned into a ship on the sea.' As soon as the word was spoken, there was the ship on the sea.

And behold! the two were going aboard. In the ship was

² *šernō*] from *šērō*, 'head.'

*þarr.*¹ *Ak'ō jana 'kaná talál i filiśín.* 'Já 'prē, Jak, kī filiśín tā þuś te dikésa ránt. *Dikésa yek' vel avrt kī tū; náí 'doidi*² *ránt kek, þuś te dikés i ránt kokort.'*

Giás ō Jak kī filiśín. Kūr-dás ō guddr tā akē ránī 'vela. Na sas yóí ránī. I kērēskerī sas-lī. Þukavēla lakī: 'Wontasáva te diká i ránī kokort.' Aré giás i būtiakerī te þukavél i ránīákī. Ak'ī ránī 'vela 'vrī. Ō Jak þendás lakī te sas bēró talál i filiśín top i dāriáv, tā 'vel talé te dikél ō þarr. I ránī sī 'rē ō bēró f'ō mūrś 'yas lá talé 'dóí 'kái sas ō þarr. Ō Jak sas opré top i deka.³ Prečdás ō sastárn⁴ tā ō bēró jala peskī.

Dūr 'kaná top ō pānt. I ránī kedás 'kaná. Ak'ói 'vela prē. Dikás. Giás aré peskī počī tā andiás klizínā tā ušerdás len aré i dāriáv. Ō pānt prečdás bári wēvi⁵ tā bavál. Ak'on 'vena pāle kī filiśín.

Ō Jak andiás i ránī tā aré gilé. Rakerdē kušī lavyá ō rái tā būtiakerō. Xo'ō būtiakerō i reskī: 'Odóva mūrś te andiás i ránī šiś andél i filiśín akái.' Ak'ō Jak jala 'vrī k'ō þurō grái tā þenēla leskī. 'Auu, Jak, þen-

fine silk. Now they were sailing below the castle. 'Jack, go up to the castle, and ask to see the lady. Thou wilt see some one come out to thee; she is not the lady; ask to see the lady herself.'

Jack went to the castle. He knocked at the door, and lo! a lady came. She was not the lady; she was the housekeeper. He said to her: 'I want to see the lady herself.' The servant went in to ask for the lady. Lo! the lady came out. Jack told her that a ship was on the sea below the castle, and she came down to look at the silk. The lady was in the ship and the man led her below where the silk was. Jack was on the deck. He weighed anchor and the ship was off and away.

Far away on the sea. Now he had caught the lady. She came up. She saw. She felt in her pocket, brought out her keys and threw them into the sea. The water raised great waves and wind. Behold! they came back to the castle.

Jack brought the lady and they went in. The master and the servant spoke a few words. Said the servant to the master: 'That man who brought the lady can bring the castle.' Lo! Jack went out to the old horse and

¹ *p'arr*] The form given in Bryant's vocabulary, *p'har*, proves that his English Gypsies pronounced the word, as the Welsh Gypsies still do, with a strong aspiration.

² *'doidi*] more usually *'doid*, fem. of *'dord*.

³ *deka*] Eng. 'deck.'

⁴ *sastárn*] lit. 'iron.'

⁵ *wēvi*] Eng. 'wave.'

dóm tukī trustál ō porr, andélas
'men kī mižibén. Já pálē, Jak,
tā þuē lestē trin dīvesá tā trin
goné sōnakái.' Ak'ō Jak giás
pálē tā 'yas les.

Ak'ō dūī jana 'kanā. Ō þurō
grūī þuētás ī Jakéstē: 'Sō þen-
dás ō bárō mūrš tukī?' 'P'en-
dás te kelás čomónī maŋī.' 'Já
'prē kī yov tā þen leskī sō
wontasésa.'

Ak'ō Jak jala kī filišin.
Pukadás ī bárē mūršeskī sō
wontsēlas. Sanūs ō bárō top
lestī. Bičadás les avrt te lel ī
čēna,¹ tā šīs prečelas yek sas-
tārñ kek. Ō bárō mūrš sanīás
top lestī pápalē. Ak'ō bárō
mūrš 'vel avrt tā 'yas ī čēna,
ū čidás lā top ō þikó. Ak'ō
dūī jana peŋī talē kī rānī-
akī filišin. Ak'ō bárō mūrš
čidás ī čēna top ī filišin, tā
čidás lā top ō dumō, tā rigerdás
lā talē 'dói 'kái sas ī rānī.

'Dói sas bárō wálos² kī rānī-
akī filišin tā gudār sas klizini-
mén.³ Xoč'ī rānī ī Jakéskī:
'Wontasáva mē klizind. Šīs
piraváva ō gudār kek.' Ak'ō
Jak 'kanā jala 'vrt tā þukavél
ī þurē greskī pápalē. 'Mē þen-
dóm tukī, Jak, trušúl ō porr.
Já pálē tā þuē 'kyatakyā⁴
'kyatakyā.' Giás pálē tā 'yas
les.

Ak'ō dūī jana peŋī top ō

told him. 'Yes, Jack, I warned
thee about the feather, it would
bring us to harm. Go back,
Jack, and beg of him three
days and three sacks of gold.'
Jack went back and got them.

The twain were going. The
old horse asked Jack: 'What did
the giant say to thee?' 'He
said he would do something for
me.' 'Go up and tell him what
thou desirest.'

Now Jack went to the castle.
He told the giant what he
wanted. The giant laughed at
him. He sent him out to get
the chain, and he could not
lift one link. Again the giant
laughed at him. Lo! the giant
came out, took the chain, and
put it on his shoulder. Now
the twain went down to the
lady's castle. The giant put the
chain on the castle, took it on
his back, and carried it down
where the lady was.

Round the lady's castle was
a great wall, and the door was
locked. Said the lady to Jack:
'I want my keys. I cannot
open the door.' Jack went out
to tell the old horse again.
'Jack, I warned thee about the
feather. Go back and beg for
such and such, and such and
such.' He went back and got it.

The two journeyed on the

¹ čēna] Eng. 'chain.'

² wálos] Eng. 'wall.'

³ klizinimén] The suffix -men (Mik., x. 52, Pott, i. 99) forms past part. of loan-
verbs, e.g. fraiimen, 'fried, perišimen, 'perished.'

⁴ 'kyatakyā] cp. Pott, i. 260, akkia te akkia, 'so und so.'

drom. 'Jak, sō þendās ō bitā mačō tukī?' 'Ōmōnī te šiš kerāva, kerāva les tukī. Te wontsésa man, mus te kār's top ō rāi ī mačēnūlē.' Ak'ō Jak t'ō þurō grāi jana peþī k'ō tan 'dōi t'atūs ō mačō, tū kārđās top lestī. Ak'ō mačō 'vela kī yov. Jak þendās leskī trušūl ī klizind. 'Java mē te dikā, Jak.' Gīās peskī, tū gilō sas-lō bārī hwīila.¹ Ak'ō 'vela pālē tū t'atūs ī klizind kek. 'L'atūm len kek, Jak. Java mē pāpalē.' T'ā gilō sas-lō bārī hwīila pāpalē. Ak'ō 'vela tū 'yas ī klizind tū dūs len ī Jakéskī. Gūs peskī ō mačō, tū þurō grāi tū Jak jana kerē.

Ō Jak dūs ī klizind ī rānī-ākī. I rānī þukadās ī Jakéskī: 'Kon kamésa, Jak, te 'vel tīrō šērō činalō ō t'ō raiéskō šērō činalō?' 'Čas ō Jak te dikēl sō kelās. Þendās ī rānīākī: 'Mā mār les; mār man.' Xočī rānī: 'Rakerdān mīstō, Jak, rakerdān mīstō. Te n' avés tū te rakerés oĵā tū 'vesas mārđō. Ō rāi sī te 'vel mārđō.'

Ō Jak t'ī rānī romerdē pen, tū ō rāi sas mārđō. T'ā 'dōi ī rānī t'ō Jak jivēna 'kanā.

'Yan les 'kanā!

road. 'Jack, what did the little fish say to thee?' 'Anything I can do, I will do it for thee; shouldst thou want me thou must call upon the lord of the fishes.' Jack and the old horse travelled to the place where he had found the fish, and called upon him. Lo! the fish came to him. Jack told him about the keys. 'I will go to look, Jack.' He went, and he was gone a great while. Lo! he came back, and he had not found the keys. 'Jack, I have not found them; I will go again.' And again he was gone a great while. Lo! he came back and he had the keys and gave them to Jack. The fish swam away and the old horse and Jack went home.

Jack gave the keys to the lady. The lady said to Jack: 'Which wilt thou, Jack, that thy head be cut off, or thy master's head?' Jack stopped to think what he would do. He said to the lady: 'Slay him not, slay me.' Quoth the lady: 'Thou hast said well, Jack, thou hast said well. Hadst thou not spoken thus thou wouldst have been slain. Now it is the master who will be slain.'

Jack and the lady were married, and the master was slain. And there the lady and Jack live still.

Thou hast it now!

¹ *hwīila*] Eng. 'while.'

The fyrst boke of the

Introduction of knowledge. The which doth teache
a man to speake parte of all maner of Languages, and
to knowe the vsage and fashyon of al maner of costes
treys. And for to knowe the mooste parte of all
maner of Copyes of money, & which is cur-
raunt in euery region. Made by Andrew
Borde, of Philosophie Doctor. Dedicated
to the right Honorable and gra-
cio^s lady Mary daughter
of our souerayne lord
kyng Henry the
eyght.

(S)

1542

Long

Sold.
4th B. 56. art
56



VIII.—BORDE'S EGIPT SPECHE

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

THE DISCOVERY

FOR over thirty years it has been fairly well known amongst those who study Romanes, that the earliest example of the language was recorded by Dr. Andrew Borde a little before 1550, or more than three and a half centuries ago, in *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*; but his book, or reprints of it, or even extracts from it, are not very easy to meet with, so that it seems to be appropriate to set it forth afresh for the delectation of Los Aficionados, and to discuss it at length.

The identification of this long-buried treasure was due to a copy of the Early English Text Society's 1870 reprint of Borde's book coming shortly afterwards to the hands of Dr. Julius Zupitza, of Vienna, who called the attention of his colleague, Professor Franz Miklosich, to it, and it was the latter who, on July 8, 1874, reported the discovery to the Imperial Academy of Knowledge at Vienna, and on July 25, 1874, Mr. F. J. Furnival, who had edited the reprint, sent to the *Academy* newspaper an account of the romantic revelation. This invaluable specimen of ancient Romanes also appeared in the Appendix to *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, published in 1875 (pp. 289-90), and it was printed and fully commented on in 1874 by Professor Miklosich, in the first part of his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeuner-mundarten*.

EDITIONS

Besides the reprint (most comprehensively annotated and edited by Mr. F. J. Furnival, in 1870, for the Early English Text Society, comprising facsimiles of the woodcuts), a limited facsimile reprint appeared in 1814, consisting of only a hundred and twenty copies on paper and four on vellum, and giving only a few of the woodcuts and introducing some others.

Of the original book there were two editions, both of which are undated, and exceedingly rare. The earlier of these was published about 1547 or 1548, by William Copland,¹ 'in Fleetestrete at the

¹ In Borde's *Breuyary*, pt. 1, fol. lxxxviii, Borde mentions 'the Introduction of Knowledge, whiche hath been long a pryntyng for lacke of money and paper, and it is in pryntyng, with pyctures, at Roberte Coplande, prynter'; and again in the Preface to Borde's *Astronomye* he names the *Introduction of Knowledge* a 'boke of my makyng, the which ys apyrinting at old Robert Coplands, the eldiest prynter of

signe of the Rose Garland,' and the later was published about 1562 or 1563, by William Copland, 'in Lothbury ouer agaynste Sainct Margarytes church,' fourpence being registered as paid in 1562-3 to the Stationers' Company for the licence to print it.

A copy of each of these early editions is in the Christie-Miller Library at Britwell Court, Burnham, County Bucks, and another copy of the first edition is in the Pepys collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge, having been bequeathed to the College by the famous diarist along with the rest of his collection of 3000 volumes.

Of the Lothbury, or second edition, two copies are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (4to B.56. Art. Seld. and Wood. 336), from one of which the facsimiles here used have been made, as neither copy of the first edition was available for the purpose, and a Lothbury copy is in the Chetham Library at Manchester. There is no copy of either edition in the British Museum, and no copy has been offered to the public during the last fifty years.¹

The 1814 reprint was made from the second edition, and the 1870 reprint was from the Chetham Library second edition checked against the Christie-Miller first edition.

It will be observed in the facsimile, that the Bodleian second edition has been dated by hand 1542. The Chetham Library second edition has been dated in ink 1543, and these dates are no doubt due to the dedication in the book having been dated 'frō Moũtpyler [Montpellier in the South of France], the iij daye of Maye, the yere of our Lord MCCCC XLII.'

THE WOODCUTS

The two early editions are not complete facsimiles of one another. There are a few typographical differences and a slight variation of the woodcuts. These latter are of figures which were

England.' Robert Copland was succeeded by William Copland, and the colophon says this first edition was 'imprinted by me William Copland,' and his device follows, bearing the monogram 'RC' and his own name 'Wyllyam Coplande,' but for all this the Black Letter expert, Mr. E. Gordon Duff, in the *Library*, January 1907, p. 31, suggests that it was really printed by William Powell, who succeeded William Middleton as printer at the George near Temple Bar, basing the rectification on a statement in Borde's *Dyetary of Helth*, that the *Introductory of Knowledge* was 'a pryntyng beayde Saynt Dunstons Church within Temple Barre ouer agaynst the Temple,' whereas the tenement occupied in 1557 by William Copland was on the other side and at the other end of Fleet Street, having 'the highway of Fleet Street on the north,' and the Rose Garland was 'in Flete streete, nyghe unto Flete Brydge.'

¹ The edition printed by Richard Tottel in 1555 and mentioned by Mr. H. R. Plomer (*Bibliographica*, iii. 379, 1897) does not exist. The mistake was caused by a Bodleian cataloguer, who combined the title of a copy of the Lothbury edition with the colophon of another book which had been bound with it.

seemingly deemed by the author or the printer to be more or less appropriate to the subject of each chapter.

Thus the first chapter has as its headpiece the (Teutonic?) figure of a man not very unlike Bluff King Hal, wearing a feathered cap and a wrap round his loins, but otherwise quite naked. He holds over his right arm a folded piece of cloth, and in his left hand a big pair of tailor's scissors. The chapter suitably begins with the words:—

‘I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were.’

Mr. John Sampson points out that Borrow, in the third chapter of the Appendix to volume ii. of his *Romany Rye*, 1858 (pp. 274-5), quotes these doggerel rhymes, which indicate the English craze for foreign customs, dresses, and languages, but that Borrow failed to detect Romani in Borde's ‘Egipt Speche.’ Borrow, however, took over the verses second-hand from *The Muses Library*, London, 1738, pp. 86-7, as noted in the second edition of *Romany Rye*, 1858.

The third chapter ‘treateth of the naturall dysposiciō of an Irysh man, and of the kyngdomeshyp of Irland,’ and the worn and dilapidated (second-hand?) woodcut shows a woman busily studying animal life amongst the tousled locks of a young man, who holds upright a huge feathered dart nearly his own height. The text states that the Irish ‘can cast a dart perilosli,’ and, in the Irishman's self-description, he is made to say, as if in confirmation of the woodcut:—

‘Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe.
Wherefore dyvers times I make theyr bones cracke.’

So too the seventh chapter has a woodcut inscribed ‘Doctor Boorde,’ and shows a laurel-crowned, clean-shaven man in a long sleeved gown, sitting under a canopy, with a desk before him on which is a book, which he fingers with his right hand, while with his left he turns over the pages of another borne on a rest, the supporting staff of which has bends in it to allow the book to project over the desk. This chapter ‘sheweth howe the Auctor of thys boke—how he had dwelt in Scotland and other Ilands [*sic*—did go thorow and round about christendom and out of christendom,’ and it bepraises his own country with an ingenuous simplicity worthy of Wester Boswell, ‘hauyng no region in christendom nor out of christendom equialent to it,’ adding ‘if I were a Jewe, a Turke, or a Sarasin, or any other infidele, I yet must praise and laud it, and so would every man, if thei dyd know

of other cōtries as well as Englande,' and in the opening verses to the first chapter the Englishman says:—

'I do feare no man ; all men fearyth me.
I ouercome my aduersaries by land and by see' ;

and furthermore, Borde states that 'the people of England be as good as any people in any other lande; yea and much morè better in many things, specially in maners and māhood. . . . Ye women be ful of bewty. . . . The noble citie of London precedeth al other.'

These samples would lead to the hope that all the woodcuts were alike appropriate, and that in the one which heads the thirty-eighth chapter, on Egypt, we might have a representation of a veritable Gypsy of the time of King Henry VIII., but alas! that is not so. The same woodcut serves also in the first edition for chapter xxxii., on 'Bion and Gascony,' and in the second edition appears a third and fourth time at the head of chapter xvi., on 'Saxsony,' and of the thirtieth, on 'Spayne.' Finally Mr. Furnival traced this particular woodcut as having been previously used by Wynkyn de Worde (who died in 1535) in *Hyckes-corner* to represent 'Imagina(cyon),' and he also traced the pseudo-portrait woodcut of Dr. Borde as having been previously used, without the lettering, as the frontispiece portrait of Skelton in 'Certaine bookes compiled by maister Skelton, Poet Laureat [cf. the laurel crown on the Borde woodcut], printed by Kynge and Marshe.' Mr. Furnival doubted if any of the woodcuts, except those of the Englishman and the Frenchman, were cut expressly for Borde's *Introduction*, and the Rev. Arthur W. Fox, in his article on 'Merry Andrew' (*Manchester Quarterly*, April 1896), says, 'Borde borrows for the emblem of the Englishman the Venetian satirical picture of the Frenchman.'

The Egypt woodcut shows a man wearing a puffed cap (something like a Pyrenean *berret*), with a big buckle, or oblong rectangular peak, to it in front, a short cloak worn like a toga, and short breeches, which are apparently 'slashed' above the broad braided band which finishes them off above the knee. Although the woodcut has been reproduced for the adornment of this article, it must be summarily and emphatically stated that it does *not* show the figure of a Gypsy.

THE AUTHOR

Andrew Borde was born shortly before 1490, at Boord's Hill in Holmsdale, near Cuckfield, Sussex, and was educated perhaps

at Winchester and certainly at Oxford. He became a Carthusian monk before he was twenty-one, but in 1521 was 'dispensed from religion' by the Pope to become Suffragan Bishop of Chichester, though he never acted as such. In 1529 he was dispensed of religion by the Grand Chartreux, and went abroad to study medicine. In 1534 he was in prison in the London Charterhouse, but was released, and next year was in Catalonia, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Chartreux. In 1536 he was at Leith and Glasgow, and then went to London. Next year he went abroad 'for the fourth time.' He was at Montpellier in 1542, but returned the same year to London. In 1547 he lived at Winchester, and later in that year was confined in the Fleet prison in London. He made a deathbed will there on April 11, 1547, and it was proved a fortnight later.

His *Introduction* specifies that to go abroad 'from London let a man take his iourney to Rochester, Caüterbury and Douer or to Sandwiche, to take shippyng to sayle to the welfauord town of Calis, the which doth stand comodiously for the welth and socour of all Englande,' and he says, 'being ouer sea at Calys I went first thorow Flaunders,' where 'the people wyl eat the hinderloins of frogges and wyl eate tode-stooles.'

His style of writing was jocose, and various books of jests and other jocular works were fathered on him after his death, and are believed to have given rise to the term 'Merry Andrew,' which still denotes a clown or buffoon. It seems highly probable, however, that the charges of inebriety and incontinence with which his rivals and opponents in religion besmirched his name were founded on nothing more than the sound of his name, which, in accordance with the punning propensities of his age, he translated *Perforatus* (bored or pierced), while others preferred to pervert it into 'Bawd.'

ANCIENT ROMANES

Although Borde's specimen is the earliest recorded Romanes, it is strongly suspected that we have a few earlier words hidden in the strange medley of uncouth names given to some Gypsies who are mentioned in Scottish documents. In 1505 a letter, and the draft of it, introduce the name of the Lord of Little Egypt in the latinised form *Gagino* and *Gawino*, and Mr. John Sampson thinks that these may be Gypsy jokes, instead of the common Scottish name Gawen. He is struck by their similarity to the Romani adjectives *gájeno* (gentile or non-Gypsy) and *Gáveno*

(urban, town-man, from *gav*, a town). *Deia* (mother) occurs in a document dated January 22, 1540, in the name or nickname 'Barbara Dya Baptista' (MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 33), and on February 17, 1540 (*ibid.*, p. 37), another document gives us *Lalo* (red) in the name 'Sebastiane Lalow, Egiptiane,' in whose company were 'Phillip Hats-eyggow,' as if '*Atch*, I go'; *atch* really meaning 'to stay,' the exact reverse of 'to go,' Phillip having possibly been hoaxed about it when he was a fresh recruit learning the language; 'Towla Bailzow,' as if '*Tulo* (fat) Baillie'—the name Baillie being even yet a well-known Gypsy surname in Scotland—or perhaps *Bálo* (pig) was meant, and Mr. Sampson suggests that the Gypsies adopted Baillie as a surname because of this assonance with *Bálo*, and Lawler because it sounded like their *Lulo*; 'Grasta Neyn,' as if '*Grastá* (horses) neighing'; 'Geleyr Bailzow,' as if 'Gelehrte—German, 'learned' or 'scholar'—Baillie,' or *Bálo* (pig), as above surmised, recording the old joke of a learned pig; 'Demer Matskalla,' as if 'Dimitri *Matchka*—(cat) *Kári*'—a form of *Kanró*, penis—had been meant; 'Not-faw Lawlowr,' as if 'Not Faw'—not a Faw or Gypsy; Gypsies even then being known in Scotland as Faws—'*Lulo*' (red), that is, The Red Non-Gypsy. The name Geleyr leads one to suspect German as the basis for some of the remaining quaint names: 'Anteane Donea,' as if 'Antoine *Donner*' (thunder); 'Satona Fingo and Nona Finco,' as if *Finker* (a fowler) was meant; but the names more resemble the Spanish numbers '*Siete, uno, nono, cinco*' (seven, one, nine, five), if the 'F' is a misreading by the recording-clerk for an old 'long s,' but Mr. Sampson suggests '*Sako Navingo*' (of all names) and '*No Navingo*' (of no names); 'Bernard Beige,' as if *Biege* (a fiddle-bow); and 'Martyn Femine,' as if *Feme* or *Vehme* (secret justice). The last batch of names was also recited in another document, dated April 25, 1553 (MacRitchie, p. 43), but, however suspicious-looking they may be, we cannot be quite certain that they perpetuate the eight Romani words:—

Atch, to stay.

Bálo, pig.

Deia! mother!

Grastá, horses.

Kári, penis.

Lalo, red.

Matchka, cat.

Tulo, fat.

All that we can say with certainty is that Gypsies are fond of poking fun of that kind at *gájos*, and that in 1546 an Italian

comedy was published at Mantua, called *La Cingana* (the Gypsy woman), wherein the author, Gigio Arthemio Giancarli Rhodignio, puts into the mouths of the Gypsies a jargon which was at one time supposed to represent their language, but which is really composed of a mixture of colloquial Arabic and thieves' Italian slang (Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 123; Miklosich, *Beiträge*, i. 5); and again we find in the 1597 vocabulary, containing over seventy words, published by Vulcanius, but collected by Jos. Scaliger, that Gypsy *kascht*, 'wood,' is erroneously translated into Latin as *tu bibis* (thou drinkest), Joseph Scaliger having evidently asked his Gypsy friend for the Romani equivalent of the French *tu bois* (thou drinkest) but the Gypsy mistook the questioner to say *du bois* (some wood). The same vocabulary correctly gives *piawé*, ego bibo; *piela*, ille bibit; *piassa*, nos bibimus; *piessa*, vos bibitis, which seem to show that the questioning took place in a tavern, as was apparently the case with Dr. Borde.

Besides their direct interest, these old linguistic records by Borde and Vulcanius are of the utmost value, as revealing how marvellously pure and unaltered the dialect of the European Gypsies has been orally kept during the long intervening period of three hundred and fifty years since Dr. Borde noted his 'Egipt speche.'

BORDE'S TEXT

¶ The. xxxviii. Chapiter trea[te]th of Egypt, and of theyr mony and of theyr speche.

¶ Egipt is a countrey ioyned to Iury

The count[r]ey is plentyfull of wine, corne, and Hony

Therbe many great wyldernes, in the which be many great wylde beastes. In y^e which wildernes liuid many holy fathers, as it apperith in vitas patrū. The people of the cōtry be swarte and doth go disgisid in theyr apparel contrary to other nacions, they be lyght fingerd and vse pyking [picking pockets] they haue litle maner, ād euyll loggyng & yet they be pleasant dausers. Therbe few or none of the Egipcios y^e doth dwel ī egipt for Egipt is repleted now W^t infidel alyons. Ther mony is brasse and golde yf there be any man y^e wyl learne parte of theyr speche Englyshe and Egipt speche foloweth.

¶ Good morow

How farre is it to the next
towne

¶ Ach ittur ydyues

¶ Cater myla barfoias

you be welcome to the towne	Maysta ves barfoias
Wyl you drynke some wine	Shole pis lauena
I wyl go with you	A bauatofa
Sit you downe and dryncke	Hyste len pre
Drinke drynke for godsake	pe pe deue lasse
Mayde geue me bread and wyne	Achar da mano? la beue
Geue me fleshe	Da mai maffe
Mayde come hyther harke a worde	Achar a wo?drey suffice
Geue me aples and peeres	Da mai paba la ambiell
Much good do it you	Iche misto
Good nyght	Lachita tut

ANALYSIS

As might be expected, when it is taken into account that Dr. Borde was noting down sounds, the exact meanings of which he did not know, and his notes were printed after his death, many mistakes have been made in the Romanes, but it also seems probable that his informant was a British *gájo*, who consorted with Gypsies, and whose knowledge of Romanes was imperfect.

1. 'Good morow! *Lach ittur ydyues!*' This should probably be *Latchedér o divés*, literally, 'Better the day,' for which Pott, in *Die Zigeuner*, vol. ii. p. 331, quotes (from Bischoff's *Deutsch-Zigeunerisches Wörterbuch*, 1827) 'Bei der ankunft sagen sie: *Latschidir diwes*, d. h. einen bessern Tag'; or, perhaps, it should be Paspatis's *Latchó ti divés*, bon ton jour = bon jour, mod. Greek καλή σου ημέρα (*Les Tchinghiánés*, p. 211). However, Miklosich (*Beiträge*, i. 6) suggests '*lacho táti divés*, good to thee day,' and states that the Roumanian Gypsies say *lasó tu des* [*divés*]; *lasó j tu des*; *lasó tumé des*. That the printer would misread a sixteenth-century manuscript 't' as 'r' (which was written the same as the German script 'r') seems highly improbable.

If *latchedér* is the correct reading, it shows the early use in England of the word *latcho*, instead of the present *kúsho*, for 'good,' and that the regular form of comparative *latchedér* was in use for 'better.' The Romanichals have preserved in most of their dialects, but not in that used in Turkey, the adverbial *feterdér* as the comparative of the adverb *mishtó*, 'good,' 'well' (Pott, *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 390).

The mistake of using the feminine article *i* instead of mascu-



**The. xxxviii. Chapter treathe of
Egy pt, and of theyr mony
and of theyr
speche.**



Egypt is a countrey forned to Turp
The countrey is plen: yfull of wine, corne and Horn
Ther be many great wyldernes, in the which be many
great wyld beasts. In þ which wyldernes liuid many
holy fathers as it apperith in vital patrū. The people
of the countrey be swarte and doth go disgisid in theyr ap
parel contrary to other naciōs, they be lyght fingerd
and vse pyking they haue litle maner, and euyl loggynge
yet they be pleasant dansters. Ther be few or none of
the Egipcids þ doth dwel i Egypt for Egypt is repleted
now w̄ infidel alpons. Ther mony is brasse and golde
yf there be any man þ wyl learne parte of theyr speche
Englyshe and Egypt speche soloweth.

Good morow
Lach istur rdyues
How farre is it to the next towne
Later myla barsoz as

R. li.

200

you be welcome to the towne	Maylla des barfoz as
wyl you drynke some wine	Mole pis lauena
I wyl go with you	A bauatofa
Sit you do wne and dryncke	Hyfle len pee
Drinke drynke for god sake	pepe dettelasse
Mayde geue me bread and wyne	
Achae da manoz la deue	
Geue me fleshe	Da mai masse
Mayde come hyther harken a worde	
Achae a wordes luste	
Geue me aples and petres	Da mai pabala ambzen
Much good do it you	Iche misto
Good nyght	Lachira tut



The. xxxix. Chapter treateth of
the naturall disposicion of þ Jues,
and of Iurys of theyr mony
and of theyr
speche.

I am an Hebrycyon, some call me a Jew
To Jesu Chryst I was neuer trew
I should kepe Moses olde lawe
I feare at length I shall proue a dawne
Many thynges of moyses lawes do I not kepe
I beleue not the prophetes, I lye to longe a sleepe.

In

line *o* before *divés* (day), which is masculine in all Gypsy dialects,¹ seems to betray the *gájo* source of Borde's information, though it may be due to the shortening of unaccentuated 'o,' seeming to Borde's untrained ear to make it a 'y' or short 'i.'

2. 'How farre is it to the next towne? *Cater myla barforas?*' This should be *Ketí meila* (*ke* or *si*) *bár'-fóros*, literally, 'How many miles (to or is) the great-market?' Borde's *gájo* informant has confused *katár*, 'whence' with *ketí*, 'how many.' *Ketí* has now become *kísi*. The form *myla*, which retains the letter 'l,' is interesting, because it is probably a Roumanian loan-word, and most of the Romani dialects have since omitted the 'l,' making the word *mia* (Pott, ii. 454). *Fóros* is an old Greek word for 'market-town' and is not pure Romanes, for which reason it was uninflected. The irregularity has thence extended to the Romani adjective *báro*, 'great,' which has been incorporated, making a hybrid compound word. The word *φóρος* is now obsolete amongst the Greeks of Roumelia, but is still current amongst the Gypsies of that country (Paspatis, *op. cit.*, p. 234). The Vulcanius vocabulary of 1597 gives 'Foros. Vrbs. φóρος, vulgare idioma Græcorum.' It also furnishes another Greek loan-word, *philatri*, 'a fort,' from Greek *φυλακή*. *Philatri* is nowadays altered to *filisin*, from its assonance with German *Palast* and French and English *palace*. The Roumelian Gypsies use neither *philatri* nor *filisin*.

3. 'You be welcome to the towne. *Maystu ves barforas.*' This should be *Mishtó avés* (*ke*) *bár'-fóros*, literally, 'Well thou comest (to) the great-market.' Borde's ear, or the *gájo's* tongue, has not distinguished the accented 'o' in *mishtó* from the short 'a' of *avés*. The verbal inflection *avés* survives to this day. Paspatis gives '*mistó t' avés*, may thy arrival be happy,' or in other words, 'welcome!' Mr. Sampson says the Welsh Gypsies still greet friends with '*misto 'vesa,*' or '*misto 'vian.*' The omission here of the preposition *te*, 'to,' is even more remarkable than in the preceding sentence.

4. 'Wyl you drynke some wine? *Mole pis lauena?*' This should be *Mol piés lavína?* literally, 'Wine drinkest (thou or) beer?' The inflection *piés* is the one Vulcanius wanted when *kusht* was palmed off upon him instead. *Lavína* is the Wallachian word *oláviná*, which Pott (ii. 335) says is formed from Lithuanian *allūs*

¹ In the dialect spoken by the German Gypsies described by Mr. Gilliat-Smith in this number of the Journal, *díves* is a feminine noun, and the article in that case would have been *i* as in Borde's text. Pott, Paspatis, and Miklosich are silent as to the word being ever feminine, but in Latin *dies* was sometimes feminine in the singular.

and is related to the English 'ale.' The early use of this word, which is not used by Turkish Gypsies, is of great historical value, as showing the long residence of these Oriental immigrants in some Danubian country. This is also shown by the Slavonic word *krali*, 'king,' which occurs in the Vulcanius vocabulary of 1597.

5. 'I wyl go with you. *A vaautosu.*' This should be *Aváva tása*, literally, 'I come with thee.' Both words are accurately inflected, and are thus of importance historically and philologically. They preclude the idea that the ending for the first person singular in the present indicative is a modern innovation amongst European Gypsies, and that it was until recently *-ama*, as in *kamama*, 'I love' (Paspati, pp. 87, 262), where the Roumelian Gypsies still preserve the original 'm,' as is also the case with *isom* or *shom*, 'I am,' and the Asiatic Gypsies regularly use *-ami* (Sanskrit *-asmi*) for the first person singular of the present indicative of all verbs. *Tása* is likewise interesting, as it shows antiquity for that form, which is supposed to have been originally *tút-sa* (Paspati, p. 68).

6. 'Sit you downe and dryncke! *Hyste len pee!*' This should be *Besh télé, ta pí*, literally, 'Sit down and drink.' Here again the *gájo* source of Borde's information seems revealed by the use of the English 'and,' or German *und* (represented by the 'n' of the word *telen*, that is, 'télé and'), instead of the Romani conjunctive *ta*. The mistake of 'H' in *Hyste* for *Besh* is an obvious misreading of a 'B' in Borde's manuscript, which would be in the ordinary script of those days, when a tail to the H was the chief distinction from B. It should not be forgotten that the chapter on Egypt is last but one in the book, and was not published till after Borde's death, without his revision of proofs.

7. 'Drinke, drynke! for godsake! *Pe pe deue lasse!*' This should be *Pí, pí, develésa*, literally, 'Drink, drink, with God (aiding),' or in other words, 'Good health.' *Develésa* is another interesting inflection, giving us the instrumental case which is here used as an ablative absolute. Miklosich (*Beiträge*, i. 8) leaves the word separated as *devel asse*, but admits that *asse* as a word is incomprehensible. Paspati (*op. cit.*, p. 205) says, '*Atch develésa*, rest thou with God. Salutation very common amongst all the Tchinghianés. *Dja develésa*, go thou with God. Salutation to persons leaving.'

8. 'Mayde, geue me bread and wyne! *Achae, da mai manor la rue!*' (The word *mai* has been accidentally omitted in the second edition.) This sentence should be *Atch chei! Dé mánde manró (ta) lavína!* literally, 'Stop, maid! Give me bread (and)

beer!' Here and in sentence 4 Borde seems to have been misled by the accent or stress on the 'vin' of *lavina*, into thinking of the Latin *vinum*, 'wine,' which word may, however, be represented in the Wallachian or old Slavonic *oláviná* (*vide supra*, sentence 4). If Miklosich (*Beiträge*, i. 8) is correct in his surmise that *mai* is merely the English word 'me,' we have here a further instance of the *gájo* source of Borde's knowledge; but Mr. Sampson suggests that Borde wrote *mā*=*man*, which is a very common use of the short prepositional, identical with the accusative. *Manró* preserves the letter 'n,' which has since almost disappeared from the word amongst the English Gypsies. In several of Borde's sentences the short words like *te* or *ta* have escaped his unaccustomed ear. Mr. Sampson regards the *A* of *Achae*, here and in 10, as explosive only.

9. 'Geue me fleshe! *Da mai masse!*' This should be *Dé mánde mas!* literally, 'Give to me meat,' but, as in sentence 8, *mai* is either the English word 'me,' or Romanes *man*.

10. 'Mayde, come hyther, harke a worde! *Achae, a wordey susse!*' This should be *Atch chei! yek lav túsa!* literally, 'Stop, maid! one word with thee!' This intrusion of English is either another betrayal of the *gájo*, or a further early instance of *gájo* influence on Romanes. The former seems the more probable theory, for no Romani-chal would have forgotten the Romani *lav* for 'word,' but a swaggering *gájo* recruit might be well acquainted with the ordinary Romani equipment of loan-words, and so palm off *wordey* on Borde. The Vulcanius vocabulary of 1597 gives other common Romani or cryptic endings to loan-words, e.g. *buch-os*, formed from German *Buch*, 'book'; *christ-ari*, 'a box,' formed from Low Latin *cistra*, 'a chest' (Pott, ii. 167); *papier-is*, 'paper,' from French *papier*, 'paper.' The final word *susse* is not likely to be the German *Süsse*, 'sweetheart'! The initial letter 't' in the manuscript has been mistaken for a long 's'.

11. 'Geue me aples and peeres! *Da mai paba la ambrell!*' This should be *Dé mánde pabá ta ambrolá!* literally, 'Give to me apples and pears,' unless, as in sentences 8 and 9, the word *mai* is the English word 'me' or Romanes *man*. The conjunction is misprinted and the last word has not been inflected.

12. 'Much good do it you! *Iche misto!*' This should be *Atch mistó*, literally, 'Remain well.' Borde must have been growing terribly bored to have put I for A!

13. 'Good nyght! *Lachira tut!*' This should be *Latchí rat túti*, literally, 'Good night to thee.' From the mode of recording

lachira, it seems as if the stress was not on the *i* of *latchi*, but rather on the first syllable. The form *rat* for 'night' is of interest, because the form *râti* (properly the locative case) is now more usual amongst the English Romanies, and it is the same as the Pali *ratti*, 'night.' The form *râti* avoids confusion with the masculine word *rat*, 'blood,' for modern English Gypsies, to whom the sense of gender in nouns is almost entirely lost. The Roumelian Gypsies favour the form *rat* instead of *râti*.

SUMMARY VOCABULARY WITH SENTENCE NUMBERS

<i>Ambrol</i> , pear, 11.	<i>Fóros</i> , market, 2, 3.	<i>Mistó</i> , well, 3, 12.
<i>Atch</i> , stop! 8, 10, 12.	<i>I</i> , fem. art., the, 1.	<i>Mol</i> , wine, 4.
<i>Aváva</i> , I come, 5.	<i>Ketí</i> , how many, 2.	<i>Pabá</i> , apples, 11.
<i>Avés</i> , thou comest, 3.	<i>Latchi</i> , good, 13.	<i>Pí</i> , drink! 6, 7.
<i>Báro</i> , great, 2, 3.	<i>Latchedér</i> , better, 1.	<i>Piés</i> , thou drinkest, 4.
<i>Besh</i> , sit! 6.	<i>Lavína</i> , beer, 4, 8.	<i>Rat</i> , night, 13.
<i>Chei</i> , maid, 8, 10.	<i>Manró</i> , bread, 8.	<i>Ta</i> , and, 11.
<i>Dé</i> , give! 8, 9, 11.	<i>Mas</i> , meat, 9.	<i>Telé</i> , down, 6.
<i>Develésa</i> , with God, 7.	<i>Mé</i> , or <i>Man</i> , me, 8, 9, 11.	<i>Túte</i> , to thee, 13.
<i>Divés</i> , day, 1.	<i>Meilh</i> , miles, 2.	<i>Túsa</i> , with thee, 5, 10.

I wish to record my gratitude to many friends and strangers for help and information in compiling these notes, especially to Mr. E. G. Duff, Mr. John Sampson, and to the British Museum, Britwell Court, Bodleian, Pepys, Chetham, John Rylands, and Manchester Librarians, and to our indefatigable Honorary Secretary, Mr. Scott Macfie.

IX.—THE TINKERS' TALK

By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND

*Introduction*¹

'So good a proficient in one quarter of an hour, that I can drink with any tinker in his own language during my life.'—*King Henry the Fourth*.

THE following chapter from *The Gypsies*, published in Boston in 1881, was that in which the Shelta tongue was first made known.

¹ This article is here reprinted not because it is in any way 'inaccessible,' for it forms the last chapter of Charles Godfrey Leland's book *The Gypsies* (which has passed through many editions, and can still be obtained from the publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., Boston and New York), but because it gives an account of the discovery of Shelta which is necessary to render our series of articles on that jargon complete. It has undergone a very complete revision by its author, and is printed from his manuscript written shortly before his death.

One summer day in the year 1876 I was returning from a long walk in the beautiful country which lies round Bath, when, on the road near the town, I met with a man who had evidently grown up from childhood into middle age as a beggar and a tramp. I have learned by long experience that there is not a so-called 'traveller' of England or of the world, be he beggar, Tinker, Gypsy, or hawker, from whom something cannot be learned, if one only knows how to use the test-tubes and proper reagents. Most inquirers are interested in the *morals*—or im-morals—of these nomads. My own researches as regards them are chiefly philological. Therefore after I had invested twopence in his prospective beer, I addressed him in Romani. Of course he knew a little of it; was there ever an old 'traveller' who did not?

'But we're a-givin' Romanes up very fast—all of us is,' he remarked. 'It's a-gettin' to be too blown. Everybody knows some Romanes now. But there *is* a jib that ain't blown,' he added reflectively. 'Back slang and cantin' and rhymin' is grown vulgar, and Italian always was the lowest of the lot. Now Romanes is genteel. I've heard there's actilly a book about it. But as for this other jib, it's very hard to talk. It's most all Old Irish, and they call it *Shelter*.'

Thus was I first introduced to a knowledge of the existence of the language, and it was all I learned at that time. It did not impress me very much, as I supposed that the man merely meant Old Irish.

A year went by, and I found myself at Aberystwith, the beautiful sea-town in Wales, with my friend Professor E. H. Palmer—a palmer who had been truly a pilgrim *outré-mer* even by Galilee's wave, and dwelt as an Arab in the desert.¹ One afternoon we were walking together on that end of the beach which is the antithesis of the old Norman castle; that is, at the other extremity of the town, and by the rocks. And here there was a little crowd, chiefly of ladies knitting or novel-reading in the sun, or watching children playing on the sand. All at once there was an alarm, and the whole party fled like partridges, scurrying along and hiding under the lee of the rocks. For a great boulder right above our heads was about to be blasted, and the fuse fired. So the Professor and I went on and away rapidly; but as we went we observed an eccentric and most miserable fellow crouching in a hollow like a little cave, as if to avoid the anticipated crash.

¹ Vide *Life and Achievements of E. H. Palmer*, by Sir Walter Besant, 1883.

'*Dikk o dovo mûsh adoî a'garverin' lester kokero!*' (Look at that man hiding himself!) cried the Professor in Romani. He wished to call my attention to the grotesque figure without hurting the poor fellow's feelings, and so spoke in what he deemed an unknown tongue.

'*Yuv's atrash of i baria*' (He is afraid of the stones), I replied. The man looked up and smiled.

'I know what you're saying, gentlemen. That's Romani!'

'Jump up then and come along with us!'

He followed. We walked from rock to rock, and over the sand by the sea, to a secluded nook under a cliff. Then, seated round a natural stone table, we began our conversation, while the ocean, like an importunate beggar, surfed and foamed away, filling up the intervals with its mighty roaring language which poets only understand or translate.

"Thus far—and then no more":
Such language speaks the sounding sea
To the sands upon the shore.'

Our new acquaintance was a poor ragged fellow. He held in his hand a shilling worn copy of *Helen's Babies*, in which were pressed some fern-leaves.

'What do you do for a living?' I asked.

'*Shelkin gallopas* just now,' he replied.

'And what is that?'

'Selling ferns. Don't you understand? That's what we call it in *Minkla's Thari*. That is Tinkers' language. I thought as you knew Romanes you might understand it. The right name for the Tinkers' language is *Shelter* or *Shelta*.'

Had I at that instant on looking at the ground beheld half buried in it at my feet an old Norse or Celtic golden torque, brooch, or horn, weighing several pounds and worth several hundreds, I would not have interrupted the tramp. It was indeed with the feelings of Columbus, the night before he discovered America, when he saw the light shining from afar through the darkness, that I heard the word '*Shelta*,' and asked the fern-dealer if he could talk it.

He replied 'a little'; and being questioned as to what kind of a language it was, remarked:

'Well, gentlemen, you must know that I have no great gift for languages. I never could learn even French properly, or get beyond the verb *être*. I'm an ignorant fellow and very low. I've been

kicked out of the lowest slums in Whitechapel because I was too much of a blackguard for 'em.'

Here I suspected, and do still suspect, that the tramp was romancing in endeavouring to make himself of value or interesting as an *outré* specimen to us as collectors. Professor Palmer subsequently told me that he conjectured the man had been a broken-down attorney's clerk. He resumed:

'I'm a low fellow, and therefore I know Rhyming Slang. Do you know "Lord John Russell"?''

'I have learned a little of rhyming—but not that.'

'Well it rhymes to *bustle*.'

'I see. *Bustle* is to pick pockets.'

'Yes, or anything like it, such as "ringing the changes."'

On hearing this phrase the Professor awoke to joy. He was a marvellously accomplished *legerdemainist* or juggler, and knew perfectly how to ring the changes, or (as it is termed by the Hebrews, who are said to have invented the art) *chalfen*. It is effected by going into a shop, purchasing some trifling article, asking for change for a sovereign, and then by ostensibly changing your mind as to having the change, so bewilder the shopman as to cheat him out of ten shillings. It is easily done by one who understands it. The Professor did not practise this art for the lucre of gain, but he understood it perfectly in all its branches, of which he gave such proofs to the tramp that the latter was astonished.

'A Tinker would like to have a wife who knows as much of that as you do,' he remarked. 'No woman is fit to be a Tinker's wife who can't make ten shillings a day by *glant'herin*. *Glant'herin*, or more correctly *glad'herin*, is the word in Shelta for ringing the changes. As for the language, I believe it's mostly Gaelic, but it's mixed up with Romani and Thieves' Slang, or *Kennick*. Once it was the common language of all the old Tinkers, but of late years, since the railways were made, the old Tinkers' families are mostly broken up, and the language is perishing rapidly.'

I have described and spoken of *glad'herin*, or ringing the changes, for a reason which will appear anon. And then we two, having produced our pencils and note-books, listened and wrote down words in *Minkla's Thari* or Shelta, after the tramp's dictation. They were as follows:—

Shelkin gallopas, selling ferns.

Súbli, soobli, soobri, brother, friend, a man.

Bewer or *bewer*, woman.

Gothlin or *gocht'hlín*, a child.

Durra or *derra*, bread.

Pani, water (Romani).
Stiff, a warrant (common cant).
Yäck, a watch. (In Canting a bull's-eye, from *yäck*, an eye, in Romani.)
Mush-faker, an umbrella-mender.
Mithani, *mithni*, policeman.
Ghesti, *ghederman*, magistrate.
Neeli-mizzler, a tramp.
Dinnessy, cat.
Stall, go or travel.
Biyéghin, stealing; from *biyég*, to steal.
Biyég th' cenik, to steal the thing.
Crack, a stick.
Monkery, country; *stallin' the monkery*, going about country.
Prat, to stop, stay, or lodge.
Nél askan, lodging.
Glad'herin, *glan'herin*, swindling; also money. (This word has a peculiar Celtic pronunciation.)
Sauni, or *sonni*, to see; see!
Strépuick or *reepuck*, harlot.
Strépuick lusk, *luthrum's gothlin* or *gock'lin*, son of a harlot.
Kurrb your pee, punch your head.
Borers and *jumpers*, Tinkers' tools.

Borers, gimlets.
Jumpers, cranks.
Nyock, head.
Nyock, a penny.
Odd, two.
Midgie, a shilling.
Nyö(d)ghee, a pound.
Sai, *sy*, sixpence. (Italian and Costermonger slang, *sei* or *six*.)
Charrshom or *cherrshom*, *tusheroon*, a crown.
Tré-nyock, threepence.
Tripo-rauniel, a pot of beer.
Thari, bug', talk. *Can you thari Shelta?* *Can you bug' (böğ') Shelta?* Can you talk Tinkers' language?
Larkin, a girl. (Curious as indicating an affinity between the Hindü *larki*, a girl, and the Gypsy *rakli*, by common transposition. In masculine form the Australian *larrikin*.)
Snips, scissors (slang).
Dingle-faker, a bell-hanger.
Dunnovans, potatoes.
Fay (vulgarly *fee*), meat.

Our informant here declared that there are vulgar forms of certain words.

Reesbin, prison.
Tré-moon, three months. (In slang, a *drag*.)
Rauniel, *runniel*, beer.
Maz, spirits (slang).
Chiv, a knife. (Romani, a pointed object or tool; origin *chiv*, *chip*, or *jib*, a tongue. Hindü, *tschib*.)
Thari, to speak or tell. *I tharied the soobli* I *sonniéd him*, I told the man I saw him.

Mushgraw, policeman or magistrate. The informant was uncertain which.
Scrí, *scree*, to write. Our teacher suggested *scribe* as the origin of this word. (In common slang *screeve*; also to draw pictures.)
Reader, a writ, anything published. *You're readered*, *soobri*, you are described, my man (i.e. in the *Police Gazette*).

Our informant could give only a single specimen of the Shelta literature. It was as follows:—

'My name is Barney Mucafee

With my borers an' jumpers down to my thee (thigh),
 An' it's forty miles I've come to kerrb yer pee!'

This vocabulary was, the man declared, an extremely imperfect specimen of the language. He did not claim to speak it well. In its purity it is not mixed with Romani or Thieves' Slang. Perhaps some student of English dialects may yet succeed in recovering it all. The pronunciation of many of the words is singular, and very different from that of English or Romani.

I here pause in my transcription of what I wrote down almost at the time, to observe that I learned, from this my very first teacher or informant, that Shelta as spoken by many was a language, and not a mere jargon or even a dialect. 'It was not mingled with Romani or slang.'

Just as the last word of the rhyme was written down, there came up to us a woman tramp of the most hardened and audacious kind. Now, it seldom happens that gentlemen sit down in familiar converse with vagabonds. When they do, they are almost always pious, charitable folk—'on the slum'—anxious to talk with the poor for the good of their souls. The talk generally ends with a charitable gift. Such was the view, as the vagabond afterwards told us, which she took of our party. And she was sure that we must be very verdant, and an easy prey. So she made short work of it, and almost without any preliminary greeting, she told us that she was in great straits, or suffering terribly, appealing to the tramp for confirmation of her honesty, adding that if we would kindly lend her a sovereign it should be faithfully repaid in the morning.

The Professor burst out laughing. But the fern-seller gazed at her in wrath, and cried:

'I say, old woman, do you know who you're *a-rakkerin* [talking] to? This gentleman [indicating me] is one of the deepest Romani ryes a-goin. And that other could *glad'her* you out of your eye-teeth.'

The woman gave one look of amazed dismay—I shall never forget that look!—and fled without a word. The witch had chanced upon Arbaces—or two of them. I have mentioned her merely to prove that the very first 'traveller' whom we saw after our lesson understood Shelta, and I now add that, from what has since come to my knowledge, I believe there may be in Great Britain at least twenty thousand persons who can speak it as well as the fern-seller did, and at least half of them far better. It would not be a bad idea to employ an expert to prepare a New Testament in the language, the more so as no class needs moral instruction so sadly as those who commune in it.

Time passed, and the 'levis grene' had fallen thrice from trees, and I had crossed the sea, and was once more in my native city of Philadelphia. It was a great change after eleven years of Europe, during ten of which I had 'homed,' as Gypsies say, in England. The houses and the roads were all old-new to me; there was some-

thing familiar-foreign in the voices and ways of those who had been my earliest friends; the very air, as it blew, hummed tunes which had in them lost tones of olden time, which made one marvel. The coloured folk, once so well known to me, now seemed to be Egyptian or Arab-like. I gazed at them as one did in the old time at Chinese; and indeed, during the four years in which I lived in America, this feeling never left me, but rather grew on me. It is absolutely true that London, Paris, and even Vienna, had become more familiar, or excited far less of strange bewildered feeling, than did my native town.

Yet even here I soon found traces of something which was known to me, something which is the same all the world over, which goes on as of ever—and that was the cosmopolite wanderer of the road, or 'traveller.' Near Philadelphia, or within its outer verge, are three distinct Gypsyries, where in summer-time the wagon and the tent may be found; and ever and anon in my walks about town I found interesting varieties of vagabonds from every corner of Europe. Italians of the most Bohemian type, who once had been like angels—and truly only in this, that their visits once were few and far between—now swarmed 'like devils round a dying stockbroker or democratic politician'—as fruit-dealers and boot-blacks in every lane; Germans of the most terrible description were, of course, at home; Čechs or Slavs, supposed to be Germans, offered unlimited facilities for Slavonian practice; while many Americans here and there gave a foreign aspect to the scene, recalling the fashionable quarter of Paris and the Cascine in Florence, or the Pincio in Rome.

Yea; Tinkers, almost unknown in 1860—itinerant, ambulant knife-grinders or tin-menders—had in 1880 become marvellously common, and, strange to say, they were all Austrians of different kinds. And yet not *quite* all; and it was lucky for this book—if it have a soul, and is thankful for its life!—that they were not.

All round the house where I dwelt in Broad Street—it is an out-club now—lay an old-fashioned garden; and one morning as I went forth therein, I heard among the honeysuckles and grape-vines a strangely familiar sound—suggestive of the road and Romanies and rural England, and all that is most traveller-esque. It was the tap, tap, tap of a hammer, the clang of tin, and anon the *buzz—z—z* of a wheel sharpening a knife; and I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curled at the end of the garden a Tinker

was near. So I advanced to him, and as he glanced up and greeted, I read in his Irish face long rambles on the roads.

'Good morning!'

'Good mornin', sorr!'

'You're an old traveller?'

'I am, sorr.'

'Can you *rakker* Romanes?'

'I can, sorr.'

'*Pen yer nav.*' (Tell your name.)

'Owen Macdonald, sorr.'

A brief conversation ensued, during which we ascertained that we had many acquaintances in common on the roads in the *puro tem* or old country. All at once a thought struck me, and I inquired:

'Do you know any other languages?'

'Yes, sorr; Ould Irish and Welsh, and a little Gaelic.'

'That's *all*?'

'Yes, sorr; all av thim.'

'All but one!'

'An' what's that wan, sorr?'

'Can you *thari Shelta, soobli*?'

No Tinker was ever yet astonished at anything. If he could be, he would not be a Tinker. If the coals in his stove were to turn to lumps of gold in a twinkling, he would proceed with leisurely action to rake them out, and prepare them for sale, and never indicate by a word or a wink that anything remarkable had occurred. But Owen the Tinker looked steadily at me for an instant, as if to see what manner of man I might be, and then said:

'*Shelta*, is it? An' can I talk it? An' there's not six min a-livin' can talk it as I do.'

'Do you know, I think it's very remarkable that you can talk *Shelta*.'

'An' begorra! I think it's very remarkable, sorr, that ye should know there *is* such a language.'

'Will you give me a lesson in it?'

'Troth, I will!'

I went into the house and brought out a note-book. One of the many coloured servants in the kitchen, who had all watched with deepest interest from the window what was going on, at once brought out a chair for me. Owen went on soldering a tin dish,

and I proceeded to take down from him the following list of words in Shelta:¹—

<i>Thédúy</i> , fire.	<i>Chaldroch</i> , knife (<i>caldock</i> , sharply pointed, Gaelic).
<i>Straven</i> , tin.	<i>Bog</i> , to get.
<i>Blyhunka</i> , horse.	<i>Masheen</i> , cat.
<i>Leicheen</i> , girl.	<i>Cámra</i> , dog.
<i>Sooblí</i> , man, male.	<i>Laproggh</i> , goose, duck.
<i>Binny sooblí</i> , boy.	<i>Kaldthog</i> , hen.
<i>Binny</i> , small.	<i>Kumogh</i> , egg.
<i>Ch'immél</i> , stick.	<i>Kiéna</i> , house (<i>ken</i> , old Gypsy and Cant).
<i>Gh'rata</i> , <i>grata</i> , hat.	<i>Rawg</i> , wagon.
<i>Griffin</i> , <i>gruffin</i> , coat.	<i>Gullemnoch</i> , shoes.
<i>Réspes</i> , trousers.	<i>Anált</i> , to sweep, to broom.
<i>Gullemnocks</i> , shoes.	<i>Análken</i> , to wash.
<i>Grascot</i> , waistcoat.	<i>D'erri</i> , bread.
<i>Skoich</i> or <i>Skoí</i> , button.	<i>R'ghoglin</i> , <i>gogh'leen</i> , to laugh.
<i>Numpa</i> , a sovereign, or one pound.	<i>Krádyin</i> , to stop, stay, lodge, remain.
<i>Gorhead</i> or <i>godhed</i> , money.	<i>Oura</i> , town.
<i>Merrih</i> , nose (?).	<i>Lashool</i> , nice (<i>lachool</i> , Irish).
<i>Nyock</i> , head.	<i>Moínni</i> or <i>moryeni</i> , good (<i>min</i> , pleasant, Gaelic).
<i>Graigh</i> , hair.	<i>Moryenni yook</i> , good man.
<i>Kainé</i> or <i>kyni</i> , ears (Romani, <i>kan't</i>).	<i>Gyami</i> , bad (<i>cam</i> , Gaelic). Probably the origin of the common Canting term, <i>gammy</i> , bad.
<i>Melthog</i> , inner shirt.	<i>Ishkimmisk</i> , drunk (<i>misgeach</i> , Gaelic).
<i>Médthel</i> , black.	<i>Roglan</i> , a four-wheeled vehicle, wagon.
<i>Cunnels</i> , potatoes.	<i>Gúshúk</i> , vessel of any kind.
<i>Faihé</i> or <i>feyé</i> , meat (<i>féoil</i> , Gaelic).	<i>Thedhi</i> , <i>thédi</i> , coal, fuel of any kind, fire.
<i>Müogh</i> , pig (<i>muck</i> , Irish).	<i>Græder</i> , solder.
<i>Miesli</i> , <i>míslí</i> , to go (origin of 'mizzle'?).	<i>Tanyok</i> , halfpenny. Query, <i>táni</i> , little (Romani), and <i>nyok</i> (Shelta), a head.
<i>Máilyas</i> or <i>moillhas</i> , fingers (<i>meirleach</i> , 'stealers,' Gaelic).	<i>Chlorhin</i> , to hear.
<i>Shaidyog</i> , policeman.	<i>Sünain</i> , to see (<i>sooni</i> , common).
<i>Réspin</i> , to steal.	<i>Salkaneoch</i> , to taste or take.
<i>Shoich</i> , water, blood, liquid.	<i>Máilyen</i> , to feel, take, or handle (<i>cumail</i> , to hold, Gaelic).
<i>Alemnoch</i> , milk.	<i>Crowder</i> , string (<i>croied</i> , a violin G).
<i>Räglan</i> , <i>reglan</i> , hammer.	<i>Sobyé</i> , (?).
<i>Goppa</i> , furnace, or a smith (<i>gobha</i> , a smith, Gaelic).	<i>Skoichen</i> , rain.
<i>Terry</i> (conf. <i>thédy</i>), a heating-iron.	<i>Mislain</i> , raining ('mizzle'?).
<i>Khoi</i> , pincers.	<i>Goo-ope</i> , <i>güop</i> , cold.
<i>Chimmes</i> (compare <i>chimmel</i>), wood, a stick.	<i>Thomyok</i> , magistrate.
<i>Máilyas</i> , arms, hands.	<i>Shadyog</i> , police.
<i>Koras</i> , legs (<i>cos</i> , leg, Gaelic).	<i>Bladhunk</i> , prison.
<i>Skoihöpa</i> , whisky (<i>usquebaugh</i>).	<i>Bogh</i> , to get or hold.
<i>Bulla</i> (<i>ull</i> as in gull), a letter, note.	<i>Salt</i> , arrested, taken.
<i>Thári</i> , word, language; to talk.	<i>Straihmed</i> , a year.
<i>Mush</i> , umbrella (slang).	<i>Gotherma</i> , <i>guttema</i> , policeman. 'A very rare old word.'
<i>Lyesken</i> chirps, telling fortunes.	
<i>Loshools</i> , flowers (<i>lus</i> , herb or flower, Gaelic).	
<i>Dainoch</i> , to lose.	

¹ The following words, which occur in the vocabulary as printed in *The Gypsies*, are here omitted: *Lorch*, a two-wheeled vehicle; *Smuggle*, anvil; *Granya*, nail; *Riaglan*, iron; *Crimüm*, sheep.

Dyúkas or *júkas*, gorgio, gentile, one
not of the class.

Misli, to come, coming, to send (c.
'mizzle').

Grannis, *gràni*, to know.

My deal, myself.

Lychyen, people.

Skolaia, know.

Skolaiyami, a good scholar.

Nyok, head.

Lurk, eye.

Menoch, nose (*nak*, Romani).

Glorhoch, ear.

Koris, feet.

Tashi shingomai, to read the newspaper.

Gorheid, money.

Tòm garheid (i.e. big money), gold.

Skauffer, *skauper*, silver.

Tom numpa, bank-note or bill.

Terri, coal (conf. *thédi*).

Ghoi, put.

Nyadas, table.

Krädyin, being, lying in a place.

Tarryin, rope.

Kor'keh, box.

Miseli, quick.

Krüd'hyi, slow.

Th'm'ddusk, door.

Kaihed, chair (*khair*, Irish).

Bord, table.

Grainyog, window.

Rùmog, egg.

Aidh, butter.

Okonneh, a priest. Thus explained by

Owen in a very Hibernian manner :

'*Okonneh* or *kooni* is a sacred man,
and *kūni* in Romany means *secret*.

An' *secret* and *sacred*, sure, are all
the same.'

To the foregoing I added the numerals and a few phrases :—

Hain or *heen*, one.

Do, two.

Tri, three.

Ch'air, *K'hair*, four.

Cood, five.

Shè or *shay*, six.

Schächt or *shäch*, seven.

Shliëma, smoke, pipe.

Munches, tobacco.

Khädyyogs, stones.

Yiesk, fish (*iasg*, Gaelic).

Cäb, cabbage.

Cherpin, book. This appears to be
vulgar. *Llyower* was on second
thought declared to be the right
word. (*Leabhar*, Gaelic, probably
the Latin *liber*.)

Misli dainoch, to write a letter ; that is,
send or go.

Misli to my bewr, write to my woman.

Grütche, dinner.

Gruppa, supper.

Goihed, to lay down, leave.

Ainoch, thing.

Cliep, to fall, let fall, drop.

Chlispen, to break by letting fall.

Guth, gut, black.

Gothni, *gächlin*, child.

Styemon, rat.

Krépoch, cat.

Grannien, enceinte, pregnant.

Loshul, street.

Shum, to own.

L'yogh, to lose.

Khadyog, stone.

Nglou, nail.

Gial, yellow, or red.

Talosk, weather.

Laprogh, bird.

Madel, tail.

Carob, to cut.

Lubràn, *lüber*, to hit.

Thom, violently, great.

Mish it thom, hit it hard.

Sübli, *soobli*, man (*siublach*, a vagrant,
Gaelic).

Ocht, eight.

Ayen or *nai*, nine.

D'yai, *djai*, or *dai*, ten.

Hinniadh, eleven.

Do yed'h, twelve.

Trin yed'h, thirteen.

K'hair yed'h, etc., fourteen, etc.

PHRASES

Tat'h chesin ogomsa, that belongs to me.

Grannis to my deal, it belongs to me.

Dioc man Krädyin in this nadas, I am
staying here.

Tash émilesh, he is staying there.

Bogh'in the brass, cooking the food.

My deal is mislin, I am going.

*The nidias of the kiena don't granny what
we're a-tharyin'*, the people of the
house don't know what we're saying.

That bhogd out yer mailya, you let
that fall from your hand.

I also obtained a verse of a ballad which I may not render into pure English: ¹

Cosson kailyah corrum me morro sari
Me gul ogalyach mir;
Ràhet mánent trasha moroch
Me tu sosti mo diele.

Coming from Galway, tired and weary,
 I met a woman (fair to see);
 I'll go bail, by this time to-morrow
 You'll have had enough of me.

Me tu sosti (Thou shalt be of me) is Romani, which Owen said is freely used in Shelta.

The question which I cannot solve is: On which of the Celtic languages is this *jargon* ² based? Owen Macdonald declares that it is quite independent of Old Irish, Welsh, or Gaelic. In pronunciation it appears to be almost identical with the latter; but while there are Gaelic words in it, it is certain that much examination and inquiry have failed to show that it is contained in that language. That it is 'the talk of the ould Picts—thim that built the stone houses like bee-hives,' is, I apprehend, too conjectural for a philologist. . . . I must call attention, however, to one or two curious points. I have spoken of Shelta as a jargon, but it is in fact a language, for it can be spoken grammatically and without using English or Romani. And again, there is a corrupt method of pronouncing it according to English, but when correctly enunciated it is purely Celtic in sound (or very difficult). More than this I have nought to say.

Shelta is perhaps the last Old British dialect (? tongue) as yet existing which has thus far remained undiscovered. There is no hint of it in John Camden Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*, nor has it been recognised by the British Dialect Society. Mr. Simson, had he known the Tinklers better, would have found that not Romani, but Shelta, was the really secret language which they talked, although Romani is more or less familiar to them all.

To me there is in it something very *weird* ³ and strange; I cannot well say why. It seems to me as if it might be spoken by witches and talking toads, and uttered by Druid stones, which are fabled to come down by moonlight to the waterside to drink, and who will, if surprised during their walk, answer any questions. Anent which I would fain ask my spiritualist friends one which I have long yearned to put. Since you, my dear ghost-raisers, can

¹ Meaning the whole thereof.

² This was a slip of the pen, for I had previously declared it was not a *jargon*, but a language, as it has been fully proved to be.

³ I used the word *weird* here in its true and only sense of mysteriously prophetic or indicative of the future, having had the idea that something strange was to come of it, which indeed was the case in due time.

call spirits from the vasty deep of the outside-most Beyond, *will* you not—having many millions from which to call—raise up at least one of the Pictish race, and having brought it in from the *Ewigkeit*, take down a vocabulary of the lost language? Let it be a lady *par préférence*—the fair being by far the most fluent in words. Moreover, it is probable that as the Picts were a painted race, woman must have been among them very much to the fore, and that Madame Rachels occupied a high position to make them ‘young and beautiful for ever.’ According to Southey the British blue-stocking is descended from these woad-stained ancestresses—which assertion dimly hints at their having been literary. In which case, *voilà notre affaire!*—for then the business would be promptly done! Wizards of the secret spells—I adjure ye!—raise me up a Pictess for the sake of Philology and the Picturesque!

The foregoing was written and published in 1881-2, and little or no notice was taken of it for several years, when that came to pass which realised in the strangest manner, and well-nigh as if by a miracle, the singular foreboding which I had expressed, that *Shelta* seemed to me a wizard's tongue, such as might have been spoken by Druidic stones when they came to life—which was after all declaring clearly, if poetically, the belief that it had been of yore the language of the Bards, who were indeed to the Druids what the *Meistersänger* were to the *Minnesinger*. For this feeling or belief, which was deeply impressed on my mind, was to be very completely confirmed by a wonderful discovery which was made by John Sampson and Professor Kuno Meyer, that the language was indeed the secret sacred tongue of olden time, as I have declared.

And here I may note regarding this prediction that my part in bringing to the light of day the sparkling spring which had so long been hidden, was simply that of the seer with the divining rod, who, after long and strange intuition, at last points out where it lies, while others dig the well, wall it in, and erect a fountain. The latter is the only part of the work which the world heeds or honours, and no great wonder either, for it is all which it sees or enjoys in the work. However, as in some old legends the memory or name of a horse or hound or hawk has been preserved because the animal, when its master the knight was dying of thirst, found for him water in the desert, so I humbly record my share in the *trouvaille*.

I have yet one anecdote to record of Owen Macdonald, who, by the way, was always called Pat, 'for short,' by those who knew him. It came to pass that my book on *The Gypsies* was published, including the foregoing chapter, and by chance some reviewer in the *Athenæum* or the *Saturday*—I do not recall exactly which—jocosely suggested that I had been sold, and had Old Irish palmed off on me for a mysterious *lingo*.

My study in those days was on a ground floor facing Broad Street. One day, when there was a procession passing, I looked out, and there stood my Tinker within arm's reach, his back to me. He turned and greeted me gravely as usual.

'Pat, ye devil!' I exclaimed, 'do ye know what the London *Saturday Review* has been sayin' av yees?'

'An' what 'll they be afther sayin'?' inquired Owen, with the air of a man who is *blasé* with seeing his name in print.

'They say ye're a lyin' ould desaver, and passed Eerish off an me for Shelta, like the thafe av the worruld that ye are.'

But with grave solemnity he replied:

'An' what'd I be afther makin' *two* languages av thim for, if there was but *wan* av thim?'

And truly, from his point of view, the argument is absolutely unanswerable.

Ex parvis magna crescunt—From small beginnings we date our winnings. The remainder of this book, which contains nearly all that is of any value in it, shows how from the little which I by chance picked up and recorded as above, two Celtic scholars of great attainments made acquisition of the whole tongue and investigated its history.

REVIEWS

THE GYPSIES OF PERSIA

- (1) *Anthropological Notes on Southern Persia.* By Major P. MOLESWORTH SYKES, C.M.G., etc.—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxxii. (1902), pp. 339-52.
- (2) *The Gypsies of Persia, a Second Vocabulary.* By Major P. MOLESWORTH SYKES, C.M.G., etc.—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxvi. (1906), pp. 302-11.

THE question whether the great body of the Gypsies are descended from one stock, in other words, whether their ancestors all left India at the same period, depends mainly on the solution of that of the original identity of their language. We may assume this identity, if we find that the various dialects have a considerable stock of words in common, amongst them a certain number showing those characteristic forms by which they are distinguished from other Indian languages. Miklosich proved this identity for all the Gypsy dialects of Europe. I tried to do the same for the Asiatic dialects in my *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*. The materials I had at my disposal were scanty; they sufficed, however, to make it probable that these dialects came from the same mother-language as the European. I need hardly say that trustworthy information about the Asiatic dialects is a great desideratum. Therefore Major Molesworth Sykes has rendered an important service by his collections. It struck him, he says, that as in my comparative list the column of Persian dialects was mainly blank, it would be useful to collect the Persian Gypsy words for my vocabulary. This has been done in two districts of South-East Persia, viz. Jiruft and Sirjān, and also in Khorasān. Each word having been written down with every care by a good Persian scholar, and transliterated, Major Sykes's vocabulary is entirely trustworthy. The words I have been able to ascertain immediately as real Gypsy words, comparing Major Sykes's list with my own, are:—

akhor (nut), J. haköl, S. aköl.

amen (we), Kh. amin.

angushtri (ring), J. anguster.

bakro (sheep), J. *bakil*. Kh. *pazā* seems to correspond with *buzno* (goat).

bal (hair), J. *palmak*, S. *wāl*.

baro (big), Kh. *borūt* (?)

bersh (year), Kh. *bars*, *wars*.

bok (hunger), J. *būkār*.

but (much), Kh. *bhūt*. Also used for 'large' (Sykes's list, No. 92, where J. *buhūk*).

dand (tooth), J. *dinki*, S. *dindān*.

diklo (kerchief, girdle), S. *tih-rāt*. Also used for 'bag' (Sykes's list, No. 34).

džov (barley), Kh. *jav*.

džuvel (woman), Kh. *javid*.

gara (horse), J. and S. *gorā*.

jag (fire), J. *āki*.

kasht (wood), S. *kashta*.

kher (ass), J., S., and Kh. *kurih* (*gurih*).

manro (bread), J. and S. *minā*, Kh. *mūnā*.

manush (man), J. and S. *māruz*.

pani (water), J. and S. *pūnū*, Kh. *pinav*. The same is used in J. and S. for 'rain' (Sykes's list, No. 14), and for 'urine' (Sykes's list, No. 66, J. *pūnuri*).

poshom (wool), Kh. *pashmanā*.

stiarī (star), S. *sitārih*, Kh. *sitārah*.

shil (cold), J. *silkā*, S. *sirāt*.

vast (hand), J. and S. *has*.

Many words in the vocabulary are not Gypsy words, but belong to other languages, as, for instance, Persian, Arabic, etc. We must not, however, draw the conclusion that they use them when speaking among themselves. It is well known that they keep their language as secret as possible, so that, without winning the entire confidence of one of them, it is impossible to become well acquainted with it. Still, Major Sykes's vocabulary gives a welcome contribution of a score and more Gypsy words from a region whence we had previously no information at all, and among them some that bear the characteristic combinations of letters which all the Gypsy dialects have preserved, *e.g.* *anguster*, *kashta*. I hope earnestly that Major Sykes will continue his interesting researches.

M. J. DE GOEJE.

Professor de Goeje's case for the unity of the Eastern and Western Gypsies may be strengthened by adding to his list the following (presumably) Gypsy words drawn from the same source, Major Sykes's vocabularies. They are either omitted in the review above, and in his *Mémoire*; or, if there, are not represented by Persian Gypsy variants. In the latter case the words are marked with an asterisk.

Anthropological Journal, vol. xxxii. p. 347, *māngnāi kardan*, 'to beg'; (Mikl. *mang*).

Anthropological Journal, vol. xxxvi.:—

No. 12. **bist* (S.), 'twenty'; (Mikl. *biš*).

18. *kātī* (J. and S.), 'knife'; (Mikl. *kat*, 'scissors').

33. *dih* (Kh.), 'village'; (cp. Paspatis, *dis*, 'country').

37. *shamlīdan* (Kh.), 'to eat'; (Mikl. *šam*).

39. **kāshā* (Kh.), 'eye'; (Mikl. *jakh*, Skr. *akṣi*).

41. *chamrī* (Kh.), 'fowl'; (Mikl. *čavri*, 'chicken').

46. *rūzkām* (S.), 'sun'; (Mikl. *kam*; *rūz* = day, cp. No. 24).

54. **magas* (J., S., and Kh.), 'fly'; (Mikl. *mikhi*).

57. *māruz* (J. and S.), 'man'; (? = Mikl. *murš*).

76. *pīr* (Kh.), 'old'; (Mikl. *phuro*).

83. *lū* (J., S., and Kh.), 'iron'; also 'blood' in vol. xxxii.
(Both identical with Mikl. *lolo*, 'red'; cp. also
J. G. L. S., Old Series, ii. 199, *loh*, 'anvil').

86. **sur* (Kh.), 'head'; (Mikl. *šero*).

92. **tallū* (S.), 'big'; (Mikl. *thulo*).

93. *khurdu* (Kh.), 'little'; (Mikl. *čurdo*).

95. *murgh-ānū* (Kh.), 'egg'; (Mikl. *vando*; cp. *J. G. L. S.*,
Old Series, ii. 319, where *moorghee*, Hindustani for
'fowl,' was heard from Scottish Gypsies in the same
sense).
JOHN SAMPSON.

ENGLISH GYPSIES IN 1818

In the May number of the *Antiquary* (New Series, vol. iii., No. 5, pp. 181-4) is an interesting contribution by Dr. William E. A. Axon on 'The English Gypsies in 1818.' He there reprints from the pages of the *Monthly Magazine* of that year a letter of Daniel Copesey, whom he identifies with the author of *Essays* (1821) and *Studies in Religion*. Dr. Axon's discovery is rather a re-discovery, for Copesey's letter was known to Groome, who quotes

from it on page 83 of *In Gipsy Tents*.¹ Beginning by mentioning Hoyland's *Historical Survey*, Copsey proceeds:—

'Since the perusal of the above work I have looked anxiously for the arrival in this neighbourhood of some of these English Arabs; but I was not gratified by meeting with any till about the middle of the present month. Having observed some smoke arising in one of the retired lanes near this town, I approached the spot, and discovered that it proceeded from a fire kindled by some gipsies, for the purpose of preparing their supper. The family consisted of four persons—viz. an old man and woman, their daughter, aged about eighteen, and a little boy, whose father and mother, as they informed me, were travelling in another part of the country. Recollecting that the writer of those amusing papers, under the title of "A Walk to Kew," which appeared lately in the *Monthly Magazine*, had mentioned the unwillingness of this people to give any information respecting their language, and being furnished with a copy of the list of words given in Mr. Hoyland's work, I was desirous of ascertaining how far it was correct, and of obtaining from them a more extended vocabulary. I found that they understood nearly all the words in my list; and they very readily communicated to me all the information I requested.'²

Copsey's list contains forty-three words and seventeen phrases, which, though accurately recorded, do not add much to our knowledge of the language, though I do not remember to

¹ It is also mentioned in Mr. Crofton's 'Hand-List of Books, etc., in English relating to Gypsies.' See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. i. p. 155.

² The letter referred to, which will be found in the *Monthly Magazine* for January 1817, is signed 'Common Sense,' and entitled 'Conclusion of a Morning's Walk from London to Kew.' The writer would seem to have been a man of a high order of intelligence, and the first part of his letter (*op. cit.*, October 1816) contains a clear statement of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, which may, for ought I know, be the earliest anticipation of Darwin's theory of evolution. His account of the Gypsies' reference to their own language is worth quoting: 'While this conversation passed, I heard them speaking to each other in a language which had the effect of Irish, but with more shrill tones; and the first man, notwithstanding his English physiognomy, as well as the others, spoke with a foreign accent, not unlike that of half-anglicised Hindoos. I mentioned this peculiarity, but he assured me that neither he nor any of the party had been out of England. I now inquired about their own language, when one of them said it was *Maltese*, but the other said it was their *cant* language. I asked their names for various objects which I pointed out; but, after half a dozen words, the first man inquired if I had "ever heard of one Sir Joseph Banks, for," said he, "that gentleman once paid me a guinea for telling him twenty words in our language." Perceiving, therefore, that he rated this species of information very high, and aware that the subject has been treated at large by many authors, I forbore to press him further.'

have met before with *moomlingoree*, 'candle-stick' (Liebich's *momelinéngëro*), in any English list. 'Bad food' is rendered by *kannella* (lit. 'it stinks'); *pállah* and *pénnah*, 'brother' and 'sister,' are of course vocatives; *deverúsa*, 'farewell,' is the instrumental *develésa*, 'with God'; *how dóevee áнке devús?* 'how far have you travelled to-day?' should have been divided *how dūr vān kedivés*.

JOHN SAMPSON.

Freda's Fortune. By G. M. IMLACH. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1907. Price 2s.

It is a pity that Frank Groome is dead, and cannot read or talk about a book which would have delighted him, and which recalls in many ways his own youthful idyl *In Gipsy Tents*.

This book for girls must rank among the very few stories about the Gypsies written with any real knowledge of the subject, and the child who accompanies Freda on her adventures, and parts company reluctantly at St. Ives Fair, can hardly fail by the end of the journey to have become something of a *Romani Rauni* in learning and sympathy. To maturer readers the book will appeal as a faithful study of the Gypsies of the Midlands, and a repertory of folk-lore which has the air of being gathered at first hand. The hoop snake, for instance, a species of reptile unknown to the naturalist, must be terrifying to the Gypsy child, when, with its tail in its mouth, it bowls down a steep hill upon its victim.

The artist has been less successful in his delineation of Gypsy life. How is it that no book illustrator, however carefully coached, can succeed in drawing a Gypsy or a Gypsy tent? The *tans* in the frontispiece look like the open front of a carrier's cart, and Pyramus Lovell like the last phase of Walt Whitman. Lolly the colt is unmistakably a *dumeskro* who would not have fetched two pounds ten, much less twenty pounds, at any sober *welgaurus*. We agree with Esmeralda that Freda's was no common hand.

EDMUND T. COLEMAN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

15

GYPSY RIDDLES

A VARIANT of the second riddle given by Miss Lyster (see *Jour. Gyp. Lore Soc.*, New Series, vol. i., note 11) was heard by me in the camp on Sholing Heath, from Betsy Page, who told me the fairy-tales which I published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (April 13, 1903) under the title of 'Marble Stones.' It ran thus, but I never heard the solution :—

Riddle me, riddle me ree !
 What do you think I see ?
 As I went out on a moonlight night
 I saw what gave me an awful fright.
 My heart did quake, my bones did shake,
 I saw the big hole the fox did make.
 Riddle me, riddle me ree !
 What do you think I see ? ALICE E. GILLINGTON.

[Mr. W. A. Dutt also writes that on reading this riddle to Lila West, whose mother was a Gray, she gave an explanation of it in almost exactly the same words as were used by Edith Lea.—ED.]

16

GYPSIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, 1673

The following extracts from *A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli*, by Edward Brown, M.D., of the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Physician in Ordinary to His Majesty, London, 1673, contain facts of interest regarding Gypsy customs.

In travelling northward from Skopia towards Servia, he reached Pristina, 'a good Town, and where we expected good accommodation ; but having entred into a fair Room, we found a man lying down in it, sick of the plague. So we consulted our safety, and stayed not long ; and having a Gypsie to our Guide, we travelled through a Country thinly inhabited, but fruitfull and pleasant, and were much refreshed with fair Cornelions [cornelian cherries], which grew plentifully in the ways.' (p. 49.)

This incident is again referred to by him on a later page (p. 77), in the following terms : 'We were entertained [at Pristina] in a very good house, and brought into a large room, well accommodated with Carpets and other Ornaments ; where we found a Turk lying sick of the plague. The Chians, after the Turkish humour, made nothing of it ; but some others were not so contented ; and therefore we removed, and travelled in the night, till we came to a Gypsies house amongst the Hills, where we were well accommodated.'

After speaking of the dangers to be apprehended from marauding Hussars in the south of Hungary, he continues : 'Nor were we without fear also of Gypsies, who are stout and bold, and some of them have been noted Robbers. There are many of them in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia ; and some I saw in Larissa, and other parts of Thessaly. They are in most Towns, and live by labour, and handy-crafts Trades ; many of them colour their hands and feet of a reddish

colour with *Oná*, and think those parts suffer lesse from the cold thereby. Some Gypsy women colour the ends of their hair also. Though they be remotely dispersed, yet they are thought to have had their beginning about Wallachia, and the adjoining parts, many of them are conceived to be spies unto the Turk. A little before I came to Leopoldstadt, by Freistadt [in Hungary, forty miles north-east of Pressburg], a great drove of them appeared in those parts; which the people suspected to be Spies of the Visier of Buda, to take notice of the State of those parts, and how that Fort proceeded.' (p. 70.)

Referring to Servia he says: 'Though Robberies be severely punished, yet they are frequently committed, and Gypsies are well versed in that Trade.' (pp. 70-1.)

In the course of his travels he visited the baths of Stubn, in the north-west of Hungary, between Kremnitz and Neusohl, with regard to which he states (p. 111): 'The heat of these is answerable to that of the Kings-Bath in England; there are seven in number: The first is the Nobleman's Bath, the second the Gentleman's, the third the Country-man's, the fourth the Country-woman's, the fifth the Beggars Bath, the sixth for such as are infected with the *Lues Venerea*, the seventh the Bath of the Gypsies.'

17

GYPSY WORDS, 1796

The following letter, à propos of an article by Dr. W. E. A. Axon, which is reviewed in this number of our Journal, appeared in *The Antiquary* (London: Elliot Stock) of July 1907. Also in the last phrase is a misprint in *The Antiquary* for Mr. John Cragg's *Ash*, and the sentence represents the familiar *Aē Devlesa!* *Gall* and *Halla* are evidently mistranscriptions of *Gav* and *P'alla* respectively:—

With reference to the article in your May number by Mr. W. E. A. Axon, LL.D., I send you some notes on the same subject made by my great-grandfather in 1796. If you think them worth printing in your next issue, please do so.

WILLIAM A. CRAGG.

Threekingham House, near Folkingham,
Lincolnshire, May 28, 1907.

From notes by Mr. John Cragg, of Threekingham, Lincolnshire: 'July 1796.—I had some conversation with the people calling themselves Egyptians, and have put down below several of their words, which I have corroborated by asking others their names for such and such things, but what sort of language it is derived from I am not able to say. These people nowadays chiefly pretend to deal in pots, etc. It is remarkable that nine out of ten have black hair.

<i>Gri</i>	a horse.	<i>Care</i>	a house.
<i>Grasney</i>	a mare.	<i>Congre</i>	a church.
<i>Monish</i>	a man.	<i>Jucal</i>	a dog.
<i>Jucal</i>	a woman.	<i>Sasham Halla?</i>	How do you do,
<i>Bocoro</i>	a sheep.		my friend?
<i>Gall</i>	a town.	<i>Aslo de Clessa</i>	I wish you well.'

18

A GYPSY FARM

Lord Moreton sends the interesting news that in a Hampshire village called Kingsworthy, about three miles from Winchester, a farm of 500 acres was recently bought by a man who, though not of Romani blood, married the daughter of a 'Gypsy' who travels the country with merry-go-rounds and swing-boats, and that the new owner is farming it with an entire staff of Gypsies. Members of the Gypsy Lore Society will watch with keen interest the progress of this colony.

19

THE BIRTH OF A LEGEND

Whether 'La vraie histoire de Carmen, racontée par son arrière-petite-fille,' which *Le Matin* published on August 21 under the motto 'L'amour est enfant de Bohème,' is founded more solidly on truth than Mérimée's romance may well be doubted. The curious reader who turns to the old series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, volume iii., page 59, will find in Mr. Sampson's note strong reason to suspect that the young lady who signs herself Mintz Nadushka is not entirely serious. But her story has been copied at large into other journals, even in England, and is likely to be accepted as the historical basis of the drama which Bizet's music has made so famous. Here then is her account of the tragedy:—

'Carmen, la Carmen de Mérimée, a réellement existé. Son arrière-petite-fille, Mintz Nadushka, vit encore. Telle est la nouvelle suggestive que nous avons reproduite, il y a quelques jours dans notre revue de presse.

'Nous avons eu la bonne fortune de retrouver Mintz Nadushka mariée à un journaliste français, M. Léon Roger. Et nous lui avons demandé de raconter pour le *Matin* l'histoire vraie de son aïeule, la gitana. Voici le récit qu'elle nous adresse:—

'La nouvelle de Prosper Mérimée et la célèbre partition de Georges Bizet ont immortalisé "Carmen" et son roman d'amour avec don Jose.

'Or, ce roman est une histoire dont je sais tous les détails; il est intéressant, peut-être, de dire enfin la vérité sur cette gitana fameuse et par trop décriée.

'D'abord, son nom, Carmen, c'est espagnol; une gitana ne se prénommera jamais ainsi. Elle s'appelait Ar Mintz, et cela signifie, en notre langage, la tigresse ou l'indomptable. De Ar Mintz à Carmen, il n'y a qu'un pas que Mérimée a sûrement franchi sans intention. Son nom de famille était Nadushka, et sa tribu campait aux environs de Gibraltar, vivant de contrebande et vivant assez bien de ce rude et noble métier.

'Dès son enfance, Carmen (appelons-la comme tout le monde) courut, avec les siens, grandes routes et sentiers escarpés: elle aimait cette existence aventureuse et libre, ces marches de nuit en montagne, cette vie d'alertes et de dangers. Elle s'unit, très jeune, à un gitano de sa tribu, Yaleo (celui, sans doute, que Mérimée appelle Garcia le Borgne), qui fut tué dans un combat avec les douaniers.

'Fut-elle cigarière à Séville? Je ne le crois pas. Elle détestait les villes, où l'on manque d'air et d'indépendance; puis elle se serait difficilement accommodée d'un travail régulier. La rencontre de Carmen et de Jose ne fut donc pas celle qu'on représente à l'Opéra-Comique: elle fut plus simple. Carmen, arrêtée pour contrebande à Tarifa, fut envoyée à la prison de la ville. Un galant brigadier la laissa s'échapper en chemin. Les gitanas sont reconnaissantes et le brigadier était beau garçon. On devine la suite.

'Ce brigadier se faisait appeler don Jose Navarro, mais ce n'était qu'un pseudonyme: les gitanos l'appellent Issar Abgoa, c'est-à-dire "l'étranger qui porte malheur." Il était de bonne famille navarraise et avait pris ses grades à Pamplona; de mœurs violentes et légères, il dut, à la suite d'une vilaine histoire, demeurée obscure, quitter son pays et son habit sacré. Il prit du service dans la cavalerie, mais fut toujours mauvais soldat, querelleur et brutal.

'Devenu l'amant de Carmen (déjà veuve à cette époque), Jose crut pouvoir traiter sa farouche conquête ainsi qu'il eût traité les timides Navarraises de ses montagnes. De plus, le soldat aimait la ville et ses plaisirs frelatés; la gitana adorait la vie libre, au grand air. Certes, tous deux s'aimaient, mais ils avaient de l'amour des conceptions bien différentes; l'accord entre des caractères aussi absolus ne pouvait être de longue durée. Cependant, Jose céda le premier; pour suivre

Carmen, il déserta, devint contrebandier et même un peu bandit. D'ailleurs, il abandonna l'uniforme aussi facilement qu'il avait quitté le froc. Cette existence nouvelle dura à peine une année, une année de querelles, provoquées surtout par le caractère autoritaire et jaloux de Jose.

'Cette jalousie était-elle fondée ? Oui et non. Jamais une gitana n'appartient à deux hommes : tant qu'elle aura aimé son soldat, Carmen lui a sûrement été fidèle. Mais lorsque son amour, meurtri et dévasté par le triste Jose, aura disparu, il est possible que le cœur de Carmen ait battu pour un autre. Il faut ajouter que les gitanos n'avaient pas vu sans colère un étranger prendre une de leurs filles, et ils auront usé de tous les moyens pour rompre cette union maudite.

'Furieux d'être ou de se croire supplanté, Jose essaya de reconquérir celle qu'il aimait encore malgré tout. Repoussé par l'indomptable gitana, l'amant devint fou de rage et de dépit : il la tua.

'Voilà l'histoire vraie de Carmen ; les gitanos du sud la content ainsi, avec ses malédictions contre l'étranger et ses pleurs pour sa victime. Les chrétiens ont, jusqu'ici, gardé toute leur sympathie pour le meurtrier ; il me semble que la pauvre et fière Carmen mérite aussi quelque pitié.

'Carmen avait une fille ; cette enfant épousa Djarko, chanteur nomade réputé, dont elle eut plusieurs fils et une fille qu'ils nommèrent Thiécla. Cette petite-fille de Carmen s'éprit d'un artilleur anglais de la garnison de Gibraltar, et de cet amour naquit une fille qui fut appelée Mintz Nadushka. Ce soldat était un honnête homme ; obligé de quitter l'Espagne pour aller servir dans l'Inde, il confia Thiécla et Mintz à l'un de ses parents qui résidait en France, dans un port de la Manche. Il partit pour ne plus revenir ; il fut tué par des Indous révoltés.

'Thiécla et sa fille revinrent alors à Gibraltar, où le vieux Djarko les reçut tendrement.

'Thiécla était ma mère ; mon père s'appelait Harry Gresham.

'Mon grand-père Djarko m'a appris à chanter ; à vingt ans, j'ai commencé ma carrière théâtrale et j'ai débuté dans ce rôle de Carmen dont mon arrière-grand-mère fut la trop réelle héroïne. Mais des gitanos de ma famille ont trouvé cela sacrilège ; il y a deux ans, à Londres, ils m'ont empoisonnée, et pendant de longs mois je suis demeurée entre la vie et la mort. Les soins et le dévouement d'un Français m'ont sauvée.

'Il y a un an, j'allais reprendre mon cher métier ; j'étais engagée en Amérique et me trouvais à Valparaiso le 16 août, jour du tremblement de terre. Tous les journaux annoncèrent ma mort ; je fis bien vite démentir cette funeste nouvelle.

'J'ai souvent oui conter par mon grand-père que Carmen était superstitieuse et n'entreprenait rien sans consulter les cartes ; dans ses tarots a-t-elle jamais lu la triste célébrité qu'acquerraient son nom et son histoire ? Peut-être. Et je crois être agréable à sa mémoire inoubliable en rétablissant ici la vérité sur ce drame sanglant.

'Puissent mon respect et mon affection pour mon arrière-grand-mère me valoir le pardon de mes frères, que ces révélations vont peut-être encore irriter contre moi.

MINTZ NADUSHKA.'

20

NORWEGIAN GYPSIES

The following words are extracted from a book by Troels Lund, published in Copenhagen in 1903, entitled, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16^{te} Aarhundrede*, that is, *Daily Life in the North in the 16th Century*, and refer to the period when Norway posed as a conquered province under Denmark : 'The earliest record of them (Gypsies) in this country dates back to the year 1505, in a letter to King Hans from his nephew, the Scottish king, James IV.' From statements made by

Troels Lund in that book, it seems that these first-recorded Gypsies appeared in a troop, representing that they were natives of Lower Egypt, and that they were in course of executing a pilgrimage in atonement for the sin of one of their ancestors in having refused to give the child Jesus of Nazareth a cup of water to quench His thirst; and that the pilgrimage was to last seven years, but that they were all bound to be back in Egypt by the expiration of that period. In the result, however, it appeared they had no desire to return to the land of their fathers when the time had arrived for them to have done so; and suspicion was at length aroused in the breasts of the hospitable Northmen that their guests had come to *stay*, that their assertions were untrue, and that they were, at the best, but an idle, predatory, and frivolous gang.

Such are the traces of their early recognition, and their subsequent characteristics have proved much the same as those they have evinced in other countries, namely, that they have been *par excellence* the smiths (or tinkers), farriers, horse-dealers, etc., everywhere; their women fortune-tellers, and their girls frivolous dancers.

The application of machinery is rapidly depriving them of their industries. Horseshoes, which constitute a very important article of export from Norway, are now turned out by machinery, and the Gypsies take no professional part in the work.

They attend no church, and their children no school, nor are they resident anywhere in particular, so that the authorities have no ready hold on them; nor is it known how or where their dead are disposed of; they are not buried in the cemeteries, but the bodies are made away with in absolute secrecy, no one knows how. It is, indeed, commonly believed by the Norwegians that they sometimes kill such of their kinsmen as may be an encumbrance to them, whether through being crippled, or idiots, or through infirmity of old age; and that these are so cunningly put out of the way that proof of the fact has not been forthcoming, although instances have not been wanting of the sudden and mysterious disappearance of certain members of their community. A very small proportion of them have intermarried and intermixed with the Norwegians, and some few of these have settled down permanently and respectably, whilst others, on the other hand, have reverted to their pristine ways.

Attempts are now being made to deal with them by the adoption and education of some of the children; but this is rendered difficult through their habitual secretiveness, and an instinctive and inordinate affection for their children, which generally prevents the parents from parting with them.

Two establishments have been already provided in this country by private enterprise and charity for the reception and education of young Gypsy children who are received from the parents or guardians on their positive assurance that under no circumstances whatsoever will they ever attempt to induce the children to return to them. Such children are thus given practical instruction to fit them for various kinds of usefulness; and at the age of about fifteen years are apprenticed in the service of responsible people. The first of these institutions was established some ten years ago; and it is said that the State purposes taking them up and carrying on the scheme on a more extensive scale, as a means of giving relief to the poor rates.

Begging is absolutely prohibited in Norway, and in that particular the Gypsies are the chief, if not the only, offenders.

The priest of the parish of Søndre dalen, near Christiansund, where I reside, has in his charge and employment a Gypsy boy, whom he received from one of the above-mentioned institutions.

The boy appears to be doing fairly satisfactorily, but he has a vicious temper, which makes him a source of danger to the priest's children; and on account of it he requires to be kept under observation.

FLEETWOOD SANDEMAN.

21

AN ANSWERED PRAYER

It was Charley Wood of Dyffryn, near Barmouth, who was talking about his uncle, John Roberts the harper.

'In the olden times as we was going about from place to place, we used to stop at farms and sleep in the barns or *atch* outside quite close to them. And when we went in to supper, you *jin*, my uncle used to say "grace," and would cover his eyes with his hand, and begin with *Diolch iddo*, endsettras. Then when we was outside, it would be my turn to tell the tale, or yours—and now it is yours, my dear *pen*; go on.'

Here Charley turned round and demanded a story from me, but after a little persuasion, he continued as follows:—

'So my uncle began, and he had a big, deep voice, and he was the best one to tell a story that ever I knew. In the middle of the story he would say, "You listening, boy?"—"Yes, my *kokko*."—"Dat's right, my *chavo*." We was rokkring till past three o'clock that time. Next morning the farmer came out. "Come you up now, all of you, to my house at once, if you please," he says to the old man.

'My uncle looks round at us all. "Have any of you boys been up to your games with the fowl?" Of course he was rokkring Romanes, but we'd never touched so much as an egg; we dursen't, the old man was so particular. "Come you up now, at once," says the farmer, so up we all went. When we came into the kitchen, the table was all put out for breakfast, and the farmer says very pious: "We are wanting to thank you for your beautiful praying last night. Oh, it did go to our hearts; indeed yes, it was a very powerful prayer, and we are hoping that you will be excusing us for listening outside the tent, but we *must* listen when we hear the beautiful praying! And you shall all sit down right now and have a good breakfast, and I will be begging of you, sir, to ask a blessing."

'It was a sight to see my uncle's face. He made him a grand bow, like as if he was the Prince of Wales. There we were, all standing round the table, and the old man saying "grace"; but instead of saying grace, he was thanking God for the *dinilo gorgios*.'

F. MARSTON.

22

A VOCABULARY FROM SOUTH WALES

Artfstrâ, 'Field-mouse.'

Bâll, 'Skewers.' Smart and Crofton, *Bissio*, *Bisko*, 'Spur.' Paspati, *Bustid*.

Çariodas, 'Shoes.' My informant said that *Chôkas* was a 'mumper's' word.

Dândi, 'Rude!' (said to children). From a Mrs. Herne.

Flid, 'Behind.' *Flid* the *bôr*.

Foia, 'Horse's tail.' Thesleff, *Foja*, 'Nest.'

Glâ, 'Gap' (in a hedge). From Caleb Herne.

Kâm, 'Fond, partial, addicted to.' Used as an adjective.

Kôvolo, 'Fool.' *Poſ kôvolo*. Paspati, *Kovlô*, 'Soft.' From Caleb Herne's wife.

Lôki Mui, 'Likeness.' ? Confusion with *Loko*, 'Light' (in weight). From Mrs. Burton.

Lûlërben Kër, 'Lodging-house.' This expression is common. ? Corruption of *Lodipen*.

Manâ Kelêri, 'How are you?' Smart and Crofton, *Mancha*, 'Cheer up!'

Mêris, 'Clothes-pegs.' From William Lovell.

Müraméggri, 'Razor.' Paspati, *Muraváva*. From Caleb Herne.
Nirido, 'Tramp.' Used as well as *Pirido*.
Pörus, 'Stairs.' Smart and Crofton, *Pöórdas*. ? Greek, *πρόπος*.
Rüni, 'Mushroom.' Perhaps only a child's contraction of the English word.
Suráni, 'Fine lady.' Pott, ii. 251, *Surábi*, 'Fine.'
Véssu, 'Stubble-field.'
Wiv, 'Snow.' Smart and Crofton, *Iv*, *Yiv*, etc. From Caleb Herne's wife.

The above words, taken from a vocabulary collected this year in the neighbourhood of Newport, Monmouth, may have interest. *Băşă* seems to be used as a 'test-word,' and the first Gypsy who gave it me told the story of a friend of his who, in the Forest of Dean, whilst making skewers, was asked by a gentleman their name in Romani. He gave an impudent answer in that tongue, which the gentleman understood. 'Had he told the truth,' said my informant, 'he would have had £1 for that word, which is *Băşă*.'

JOHN MYERS.

23

RECENT WORKS ON THE GYPSIES¹

- Finck, Professor Franz Nikolaus. *Die Sprache der Armenischen Zigeuner*. (*Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*. viii. Série. Classe Historico-Philologique. Volume viii., No. 5.) Saint Petersburg, 1907. Price, 2 Marks.
- Gilliat-Smith, Bernard J. *Gypsies*. In *The Caian*. *The Magazine of Gonville and Caius College*. Vol. xvi., No. iii. (Easter Term, 1907). Cambridge, 1907. Printed for subscribers only.
- Imlach, G.M. *Freda's Fortune: A Book for Girls*. London, T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1907. Price, 2s. Juvenile fiction dealing with Gypsies.
- Jarvis, A. W., and R. Turtle. *Gipsy Life*. Illustrated from Old Prints in the British Museum. In *The Idler*, October 1907.
- Kataclá, El Bachiller. *Cantes Gitanos*. Logroño, Imprenta Moderna de Martínez y Ruiz, 1907.
- Krauss, Dr. Friedrich S. *Zigeunerhumor*. 250 *Schnurren, Schwänke, und Märchen*. (Band ix. und x., *Der Volksmund*.) Leipzig, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1907. Price, 2 Marks.
- MacAlister, Donald. *Echoes*. Cambridge, Macmillan and Bowes: London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1907. Price, 2s. 6d. net. Contains verses in Welsh Romani.
- Parker, The Rev. John (11 Monteith Row, Glasgow), has translated into broken Romani, and printed for private circulation, *Saint Luke*, xv. 11-32, and the *Lord's Prayer*.
- Sinclair, Albert Thomas. *Gypsy and Oriental Music*. In *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, January-March 1907. Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 4 Park Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. Reviewed by Dr. Anton Herrmann in *Magyar Zenetudomány* (Ungarische Musikologie), July-August 1907).

¹ Members, and particularly those who reside out of Great Britain, are requested to report to the Editor the titles, authors' names, places and dates of publication, and prices of works on Gypsy subjects which come to their notice.



JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. I

JANUARY 1908

No. 3

I.—A FRIEND OF THE GYPSIES

By HANS F. HELMOLT¹

IN Dr. Heinrich von Wlislöcki there died on February 19, 1907, the man most intimately acquainted with the Gypsies and their national character—an assertion which assuredly will not be contradicted by the sometimes hypercritical world of scholars. Let me erect on his early grave—at Muehlbach in Transylvania—a modest monument to his memory.

Descendant of an ancient Polish family of noble rank, Heinrich von Wlislöcki was born at Kronstadt in Transylvania on July 9, 1856, and attended the famous evangelical Honterus College (Augsburg Confession) there until the year 1875. The German seed that was thus sown in the lad's mind afterwards bore plentiful fruit when he studied the struggle of races and languages on the Teutonic boundaries. It is a comforting fact that the losses we sustain by German families which become Slavonic, are counterbalanced—not numerically perhaps, but in significance—by conquests; that is to say, the German nation as such loses a few members of little value, whereas it gains some of the great men of foreign races. Wlislöcki may be considered one of these peaceful conquests.

¹ From *Das literarische Echo*, August 1, 1907. Translated from the German by Fräulein Frida Helms of Callenberg (Saxony).

Without any pecuniary support whatever, Heinrich entered in 1875 the University of Klausenburg, which had been founded three years before as the second Hungarian university, and attached himself chiefly to Professors Hugo Meltzl (German Philology and Literature) and Samuel Brassai (Sanskrit). His excessive shyness and modesty attracted the attention and interest of both teachers and fellow-students at the University. Retiring to a window-niche in the corridor, he used to wait for the professor whose lecture he was about to attend, and enter the hall immediately after him, and he never joined in the conversation of the other students. This reserve, which made him in the course of time the subject of a cycle of legends, was by no means affected, but was an innate disposition, which, in consequence of insufficient physical development, was unfortunately destined to increase to a mental disease. It was only when, in the course of discussions on Old-German, Middle-High-German, or Anglo-Saxon, an important question arose, that he broke his usual silence; and, in most instances, the professor agreed with him. Having but few wants, he lived by giving private lessons. In 1879 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and was awarded a prize for his dissertation on 'Hapax legomena in Atlamál.'

At that time the *Acta comparationis litterarum universarum*, edited by Meltzl and Brassai, began to appear. Besides papers on the classical languages, it contained essays on many other idioms, and soon became the central organ of philologists. It opened for Wlislocki a wide field of literary activity, and he began, at the instigation of Meltzl, to occupy himself with the dialect of the Gypsies and their songs, a study which resulted in contributions of great importance to the sciences of language and folk-lore. It was not only from books that he studied the nature of that race, so mysterious as to its origin and future, but also to a great extent by sharing its life. Let us try to realise what it means when a scholar of great attainments leaves his own home and natural associations to live the life of a vagrant and investigate a race of men which is universally despised. Knowing the Gypsy language theoretically, Wlislocki joined these nomads, welcome nowhere, nowhere allowed to stay long, hated by everybody, and therefore shy, and lived with them for months together. In those years sacrificed on the altar of Science, in the true sense of the word, he overcame the traditional mistrust, and learned, more thoroughly than any philologist before him, secrets of Gypsy customs and

manners which, as a rule, are anxiously and obstinately concealed from foreigners. This method of carrying out practical ethnology has been, and is indeed still occasionally used in Africa or Australia, but Wlislöcki's experiment will no doubt remain unique for many a day in connection with that tribe whose very vagrancy renders their study peculiarly difficult. Moreover, besides the privations he had to suffer at an age when others enjoy life, his nomad experiences cost him a precious boon—his eyes, probably seriously affected already by hard study, grew weaker and weaker, until at last he became all but blind.

Thus Dr. Heinrich von Wlislöcki joined a troop of vagrant Gypsies wandered with them from place to place and lived in their tents for eight or ten months, sharing with them wind and rain, heat and cold, hunger and thirst, yea even imprisonment for a short period. The women related to the scholar their fairy-tales and legends, the girls sang their songs to him, the old people of the horde initiated him into the charms and incantations they practised and other mysterious rites. Three or four times he made such excursions, pleasure-trips indeed of a strange kind. But what treasures he brought home! And then began the laborious task of sifting, comparing, and interpreting. A stately series of independent works, and valuable essays in English, German, Hungarian, and French journals, give proof of the rich harvest of Wlislöcki's study of Gypsy lore. I neither can nor will give a detailed bibliography, but mention only his best-known writings, which, in spite of their scientific character, sometimes read like novels. Their titles are as follows: *Heath Blossoms; Popular Songs of the Transylvanian Gypsies* (Leipzig, 1880); *Language of the Transylvanian Gypsies* (Leipzig, 1884); *Fairy-Tales and Legends of the Transylvanian Gypsies* (Berlin, 1886); *Folk-Songs of the Gypsies of Transylvania and Southern Hungary* (Vienna, 1890); *The Vagrant Gypsies* (Hamburg, 1890); *Popular Belief and Religious Rites of the Gypsies* (Münster, 1891); *Fairy-Tales and Legends of the Armenians of the Bukowina and Transylvania* (Münster, 1892); *Inner Life of the Gypsies*, perhaps his most important work (Berlin, 1892); *Popular Belief and Religious Rites of the Hungarians* (Paderborn, 1893); *National Life of the Hungarians* (München, 1893); *Popular Belief and Customs of the Transylvanian Saxons* (Berlin, 1893).

I have mentioned intentionally some works by Wlislöcki which contain nothing about Gypsies, in order to show that he had not

abandoned the comparative point of view of his college years, but still cultivated to a great extent the studies he then began. To this fact I owe the assistance which he gave me in my work. When, about 1895, I was trying to find a collaborateur who could write chapters for the fifth volume of my *History of the World* on some fragments of peoples in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe somewhat beyond our ken, I was fortunate enough to obtain Wlislöcki's promise to write, thus helping nations which are often, or as a rule, neglected and underrated—Bulgarians, Fins, Huns, Hungarians, Rumanians, and others—to receive justice in a real history of the world. He set to work with alacrity. Chapter after chapter was sent to Leipzig. But, before the task was fully achieved, there came a frosty chill over his work. He complained of the weakness of his eyes, which caused him great trouble, and soon a striking peculiarity was observable in his manuscripts: he could no longer write in straight lines; his busy hand was evidently failing, so that his writing inclined more and more towards the right-hand bottom corner of the sheet. But it was not yet altogether exhausted. When, however, in 1898, after sending me the last section but one, he repeatedly inquired what subjects he had still to treat, I was greatly startled: his memory had obviously suffered so much that he could not remember which parts of his work he had finished. And all too soon (1899) my apprehensions proved justified: the faithful companion of his life wrote to tell me that her husband suffered from a mental disease. All those who appreciated him and his learning were deeply grieved when they heard that it was incurable, and it was a deliverance from great suffering when, on February 19, 1907, at Bethlen-Szent-Miklós in Hungary, Heinrich von Wlislöcki closed his eyes for ever.

An excellent man and an eminent scholar died with him. It was not only the members of the Gypsy Lore Society, and chief among them the late Archduke Joseph of Austria, the protector *par excellence* of the Gypsies, who regarded Wlislöcki as a man of great authority; but the editors of important journals of comparative philology and ethnology in England, Germany, and Hungary were proud to count among their collaborateurs one who was always able to contribute interesting original texts or publish something which had never been edited before. And as for myself: in my *History of the World* much has been blamed justly or unjustly—Wlislöcki's section on the Gypsies nobody

has attacked. Such was his importance as a scholar. But as a man also he had very many sympathetic qualities. In spite of numerous honours conferred on him, both by individuals such as Bastian and Pott, and by societies—honours which would have rendered others vain—he remained touchingly modest to the very last. Gifted by nature with a delicate, almost over-sensitive mind, he was one of the rare idealists of our days who are able to share their fellow-men's hopes and joys as willingly and honestly as they are oppressed in sincere sympathy with the trouble and distress of others—one of those idealists whose good-nature is apt to be abused by unprincipled adventurers. He translated in masterly fashion the poems of others (Petöfi into Icelandic, J. Vajda and K. Szász into German); and finally became himself a poet, a poet in the German language.

II.—THE ORIENTAL GYPSIES

By ALBERT THOMAS SINCLAIR

INTRODUCTION

PASPATI states that very little is known about Asiatic Gypsies. Professor Pischel has written that it is unfortunate that our knowledge of the Gypsies of Asia is so scanty. Professor E. Kuhn wrote the same, adding that here is a magnificent field for original scientific research. Well aware of these facts, I have for many years devoted myself specially to the investigation of Oriental Gypsies, taking the view that we must study not only their language, which is most important, but also their customs, habits, trades, occupations, peculiarities, and history, as well as those of the countries where they are found, and compare the Gypsy with the non-Gypsy. In addition to my own personal investigations, I have had a long and extensive correspondence with a very large number of scholarly men, officials, diplomats, military officers, missionaries, scholars, etc., both natives and Europeans, all over the East—Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Turkestan, India, and Kashmir, and from many different districts in each country. Investigators of the East have often requested from me somewhat full hints and suggestions, pointers to indicate where to look, what to search for, and how to do it. In response I propose to give here a summary of what is known of the subject, whether

from works already printed or from my unpublished reports, beginning with a brief statement of some facts which should be borne in mind when endeavouring to draw conclusions from a study of Oriental Gypsies.

DISTRIBUTION

The Gypsy race is found in every country in Europe, all over Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Beluchistan, Siberia, Egypt, the north coast of Africa, and in the Soudan. It is scattered throughout North and much of South America. Everywhere it is the same Gypsy race and the language is the same *Romani chib*, in different stages of decay, and modified by various environments.

China and Japan both have large numbers of castes, nomadic and Gypsy-like in their trades, habits, and mode of life, but they are not Gypsies. There is everywhere, and always has been, a demand for such a class. This demand is filled in Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe by the Romanichal. They are the same race everywhere. Their looks, language, and other things prove it. Russian and Syrian Gypsies here and American Gypsies at once recognise each other as Romani pals. They try to converse, and understand many words. Armenians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians in America, when I ask them about the Posha, Chinganeh, Nawar, or Karachi, volunteer the remark 'You have American ones, —the Gypsies.' They recognise our Gypsies as the same people they knew at home. So soldiers and sailors, both officers and men, who are interested, at once see that Oriental Gypsies are the same race they saw in their own country. People not interested travel through the East, Europe, and America, and never see a single Gypsy.

In the district of the Lower Danube and the Balkan Peninsula are now found five hundred thousand Gypsies, while the rest of Europe contains about one hundred thousand. They are more numerous in Macedonia¹ than anywhere else. The purest Gypsy

¹ Indeed here they are so numerous that they cannot live by ordinary Gypsy occupations and are forced into others. The swiftest reapers are Gypsies, and very large numbers of them are farm-labourers. They are the musicians, singers, and dancers who perform at nearly all the weddings and feasts in the country and often in the cities. Many Gypsies here hold responsible positions. The Superintendent of Waterworks and Sewers in Monastir is a Gypsy, as are some of the colporteurs of the Missionary Society. See *Macedonia (Makedonia) Ethnography and Statistics*, Vasil Kunchev, Sophia, 1900 (in Bulgarian), which contains much information about the Gypsies there entirely new to literature. The population and names of all the

is spoken in the above district, where it is a complete language with a complicated grammar and a full vocabulary, and differs from all other European languages. As we leave this district, which was formerly European Turkey, in all directions their numbers rapidly diminish, and their language becomes corrupt. Travelling west we find that the English and American Gypsy dialects have about one-half English words, and that the grammar is almost entirely English as it is commonly spoken; while eastwards, when we reach the territory adjacent to India and the Hindu Kush, their language has almost disappeared, and they are very few in number. There are no Indian Gypsies. Any attempted explanation and discussion of these facts would require too much space here, but it is worth while to mention that the recent find of Oriental books at Turfan, and other evidences, seem to show that the civilisation and phonetics we have been wont to consider as confined to India, at one time flourished wide to the north of the Himalaya. If this be true there is no need to go to India to seek the cradle of the Romani tongue.

WANDERINGS

The extent of the wanderings of some Gypsies is hardly realised by anybody. In many countries the large majority seldom go out of the country where they belong, but there are also very many who do. I have talked with numerous bands of South Russian Gypsies who had for years made circuits through the Caucasus and all over Russian Central Asia. Some had traversed Siberia to Vladivostock; others had been in Persia, Syria, and Egypt, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and like all pilgrims, had been tattooed there with holy devices. Many of them had met all kinds of Oriental Gypsies in the Caucasus, other parts of Russia, Turkey, Austria, and elsewhere. They recognise each other as brother Gypsies, and talk over Gypsy life, and everything pertaining to their race, with the greatest interest. They all camp out, lead a similar mode of life, and their business, and search of a livelihood, draw them towards the same places, so that they find each other. They live by their wits, see and hear everything, have good heads and remember all. They compare notes. In their wanderings

many Gypsy villages are given, and there is a valuable account of their trades, characteristics, etc. The statistics have evidently been prepared carefully, like those of other nationalities, by the Bulgarian Committee. It is an authoritative work.

they often intermarry. One band of Russian Gypsies had members, husbands or wives, born in Northern, Central, and Southern Russia, Bessarabia, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, and Greece. One man spoke French which he learned in France. They had often made circuits over much of Russia, Poland, and South-Eastern Europe. Similar bands are common. All spoke Gypsy fluently and used it as well as Russian for ordinary parlance. In talking with Gypsies of all parts of South-Eastern Europe, including Russia, the differences of dialect are very much less than they appear to be in grammars and vocabularies. Indeed, unless one stops to consider the matter, they are but little noticed in quick conversation when the Gypsies speak their language fluently.

Many bands of Persian Gypsies come down to Bagdad and the plains of Mesopotamia, and return after a few months' sojourn, others go to Baku and the Caucasus. Rubenstein saw such Persian Gypsy musicians there, and has arranged some of their songs (*Opus* 34).

Arab Gypsies from Syria and Egypt are frequently seen all over Europe. They are easily recognised by their shows, music, tattoo-marks, etc. They are found all over the United States and Canada, even in Winnipeg. Dr. Wm. T. Hornaday, Director of the Zoological Park, New York City, writes that he has seen these Arab Gypsies with their light yellow Syrian bear (which has a mane of stiff hairs between the shoulders, and sometimes a white ring round the neck) in many parts of the United States—one camp he struck as far west as Salt Lake City—and he has always recognised them as Gypsies. Most of them speak a little German, Italian, and French. This indicates that they have spent some time in these countries on their way here. I have a very large number of similar reports as to America and Europe.

Four or five bands of Beluchi Gypsies visit Western India every winter with their families, but they never go east of the Indus. They are showmen, and give performances remarkably similar to those of the Arab Gypsies, including their music. I have long and full accounts of these Gypsies from Beluchistan, and their tricks, from people who have seen and talked with them and carefully studied everything.

Persian Gypsies have been met who were coming from Bombay on steamships.

Some of my reports give full accounts of Afghan Gypsies

who now camp every year near Teheran, with many words and phrases of their language.

It has seemed best to go into the matter of the world-wide wanderings of this mysterious people, and show how they pick up foreign tongues on their way, because it is an important fact to be taken into consideration in studying their language and origin. Foreign words creep in easily, no long sojourn is necessary. Syrian bear-leaders here often sing some French words to their bears when they dance. To-day Gypsies travel frequently over a vast territory. Why should it not always have been so?

JARGONS

There are now no Gypsies who belong to India. All over India there are nomad castes or tribes who are Gypsy-like in their mode of life, habits, trades, and character, but they use the dialects of the districts whence they come or where they are found. All speak also secret languages, differing entirely from one another—inade-up jargons of various sorts, and all resembling far less the *Romani chib* than Hindu dialects do. None of these jargons can be the origin of Gypsy.

Artificial jargons for secrecy are common all over the world.¹ In every large city in India the criminal and disreputable classes have a different cant. Some are 'back slang.' Some affix or prefix syllables, and all sorts of devices are resorted to. The caravan camel-drivers of Egypt have such a talk, as have also the Gypsies in Turkestan, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. So far as my information goes this is also true of the Gypsies of Persia and, to a large extent, of those of Syria. That spoken by the Gypsies in Egypt contains some very old Arab words not now in use, and many words used only by the lowest classes. I have often talked

¹ See Alfred von Kremer, *Aegypten*, 2 vols., Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1863. In vol. i. p. 126, he states that the sheiks of the Ababdeh have made a kind of thieves' jargon which is written with Arabic letters. He gives thirty words: e.g. *arkelerkad*, 'earth,' Arab. *ard*; *arkedekinnierka*, 'world,' Arab. *dunya*; *arkesserkamerka*, 'heaven,' etc. One peculiarity of this jargon is that they add *ka* and *ki* to Arabic words. Similar jargons are common. Compare Surgeon-Major Ranking's account of the speech of the Nutts, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 17, where *ku-* is used as an initial, and *-chwa* or *-ma* as a final disguise to native words. See also Pott's quotations from Richardson (vol. i. p. 9). An argot constructed by adding *mar* either at the beginning or end of words, or both, was popular in Paris some years ago. Barrère specifies many different modes of formation, and 'languages' of this kind are spoken also in some English schools. It is scarcely necessary in this Journal to refer to Thurneysen's analysis of the secret language called Ogham (*Rev. Celt.*, vii. 369), or to Leland's, Meyer's, and Sampson's articles on the ancient Shelta.

with a low class of Arabs who could understand some of this Gypsy, because, as they say, it is a sort of low thieves' Arabic. It would seem that in Egypt, in Persia, and generally in Syria, the Gypsies now use a mere slang, which still, however, contains enough true Gypsy words to prove that they are Gypsies.

OCCUPATIONS

Their language is, as I have said, most important in considering our subject. Nothing else identifies a Gypsy with certainty, for nobody but a Gypsy, or a Romano Rai, ever speaks it. But there are other matters of great moment, for instance their occupations, which have never been thoroughly investigated. If a man plies one of certain trades, and his wife tells fortunes, there is very little doubt that they are Gypsies, even if the evidence of language is wanting. It is impossible in one article to do more than refer to some of these professions briefly.

(a) Fortune-telling, working of spells, conjuring, selling of charms and love-powders are pre-eminently Gypsy trades in the East, which is the land of sorcery, conjuring, astrology, alchemy, and the occult arts. Some of my reports, and my own studies, have entered upon this question elaborately as to the details: fortunes and forecasts by the hand, cards, tossing of wheat, beans, peas, shells, or knuckle-bones, marks in the sand, magic squares, numbers, etc. An attempt has been made to compare these methods in different parts of the world, and to trace the influence Gypsies have had, if any, in originating and spreading them.

(b) Similarly some have thought that the Gypsies have been largely instrumental in disseminating stories, folk-tales, folk-lore, and folk-songs.¹ The only name the Kurds call the Gypsies is *Āshūk*, from the Turkish word *Āshūk*, a story-teller. Really it is an Arabic word meaning 'lover.'

(c) They are noted throughout the Orient as 'go-betweens' for lovers, and during the Middle Ages a Gypsy-like class of women was common in Europe as such.

(d) Gypsies have very commonly been used as messengers and spies by Eastern armies—for instance, by the Tartars when they invaded Europe—as well as in Europe itself some centuries ago. Books of travel often mention the stalwart, swift couriers of the

¹ See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 113, and Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1899, pp. lxiii-lxxxiii.

Shah, who appeared for an instant and quickly were off.¹ All the Shah's runners to-day are Gypsies, as Major P. Molesworth Sykes states.

(e) In the Orient sieve-making² for the country farmers is entirely in the hands of the Gypsies, and they make wooden spoons, bowls, and such-like utensils. They take their pay in grain, which they sell in the cities. In Egypt they manufacture children's toys, and all sorts of knick-knacks, Jew's harps, coffee-roasters, etc., in fact, at one time the whole retail trade of Egypt was entirely in the hands of the Gypsies.³ Arab Gypsies often offer such things for sale in Italy and some other European countries. In European Turkey they make iron shovels, farming tools, and all kinds of kitchen and household utensils. In Persia some are *Zargārī*, 'goldsmiths,' and in Egypt they make cheap jewellery.

(f) All the common people in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and parts of Persia and Kurdistan are tattooed. The Gypsies are the experts and do most of it even among the Bedouins.⁴ In these countries, and even in Van, they are themselves tattooed. They also circumcise, and are often quack doctors. Wherever the Bedouins go, there go the Gypsies. The Moslem pilgrims to Mecca and Medina, and the Christian to Jerusalem, are all tattooed there with holy devices, the date of their pilgrimage, etc., and by Gypsies. Gypsy tattooers have been seen in Greece, Italy, and Sweden, but, as a rule, in Europe the Gypsies neither tattoo nor are tattooed, and a tattooed Gypsy means an Oriental Gypsy. The examination of the tattoo devices on several hundred Orientals, and their stories of who did it, where, and the devices themselves, are most interesting and instructive; and this not only from the importance of tattooing as a matter of scientific

¹ See Edward G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, London, A. and C. Black, 1893, pp. 235, 353; Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, 2 vols., London, John Murray, 1891; Curzon, *Persia*, etc., 1892, i. 332. The last describes the Shah's runners, their fantastic dress, and their ancient guild, to belong to which they must run one hundred and eight miles between sunrise and sunset, and fetch to the palace at Isfahan twelve arrows from a pillar a league and a half away.

² Compare the Irish sieve-makers (rinskkal), who according to old Barlow, one of Mr. Sampson's authorities for Shelta, were among the four classes who used that secret tongue.

³ Von Kremer, *Aegypten*, i. 139.

⁴ See Charles G. Leland, *The English Gypsies and their Language*, London, Trübner and Co., 1873, p. 196; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 250; and Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, John Murray, 1871, ii. 109.

research, but also from the possibility of throwing light on the Gypsy problem, by comparison with devices and methods elsewhere.

(g) Dealing in donkeys, horses, goats, camels, etc., horse-doctoring, working in iron, copper, and tin, are common occupations of Oriental Gypsies. Often they are vendors of sweetmeats, and pastry-cooks.

(h) Nearly all the public musicians, singers, and dancers in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia are Gypsies. I do not include the religious and military musicians, nor the poets and rhapsodists. The people themselves in these countries are extremely fond of music, and almost every house has some musical instrument, if only a tambourine or hand-drum. All the native women and girls, and often the men and boys, play, sing, and dance, but *only at home*.¹

(i) Certain musical instruments seem to be characteristic of Gypsies,² as the Hungarian Gypsy *Tzimbál*, which is the Persian Gypsy *Sāntūr* (سنتور), and the Rumanian Gypsy *Măscăl* (*Muscală*), a Pan's pipe. The Oriental bagpipe is played almost exclusively by Gypsies in the Western Orient and South-Eastern Europe. The Arab *Zēmr* (زمر) is seen in their hands all over Europe and America, and wherever they are found in Asia and Africa. So the Rumanian Gypsy *Kobza* is the *Bŭlgărî* of the north coast of Asia Minor played by Gypsies, and the same as the Arab 'ūd (عود), the lute which the Nāwār use.

(j) The Gypsies are the showmen of the East, where there are neither circuses, theatres, nor concert-halls. The Gypsies fill their place. All the jugglers, acrobats, athletes, tumblers, tight-rope walkers, stilt-walkers, tossers of balls and knives, sleight of hand men, 'Punch and Judy' showmen, leaders of performing animals (bears, donkeys, goats, dogs, monkeys, camels, etc.), are Gypsies.³ So are the snake-charmers and snake-catchers, the wrestlers, and strong men (*Păhlāvān*). If people wish to buy

¹ See my article 'Gypsy and Oriental Music,' in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, January-March 1907, p. 16.

² Although the Gypsies did not introduce the harp into Wales, yet the Gypsy Woods and their connections were for long the chief—almost the only—exponents of the triple-stringed instrument. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 180. Similarly in Scotland many Highland pipers, even regimental pipers, have been Gypsies; and there is a proverb to the effect that all MacPhees are either tinklers or pipers, which conveys the same association.

³ I am inclined to believe that *all* bear-leaders, wherever met, are of Gypsy race, and I suspect that it may be found after inquiry that the same may be said of organ-grinders with monkeys.

wild animals or snakes in Egypt, they go to the Gypsies, who either have or catch them. The same goat stands with his four feet close together on a small box, the top of a pile, in Samarcand, Bokhara, Syria, and Cairo, and on the banks of the Indus.

Such Arab Gypsy showmen are common even to-day in nearly every country in Europe. Their appearance, their language, their tricks, their tattooed hands and arms, their musical instruments identify them. Just such a class of Oriental showmen has always been common in the East, in Rome at the beginning of the Christian era, and all over Western and Central Europe for more than fifteen hundred years. Were any of them Gypsies? The whole question requires full consideration.

REPORTS

In obtaining reports the method I adopted was to request my correspondents to write a brief account of the Gypsies, describe their numbers, the names they call themselves, and those which others call them, their trades, customs, etc., and to give the numerals and some fifty real Gypsy words which are Indian and not Iranian, Persian, Kurd, Arab, or Turkish, such as *churi*, 'knife,' *bal*, 'hair,' *yak*, 'eye,' *kan*, 'ear,' *nak*, 'nose,' *kalo*, 'black,' *gra*, 'horse,' *rani*, 'queen,' *rai*, 'chief,' *chib*, 'tongue,' *chiriklo*, 'bird,' *baro*, 'great,' *but*, 'much,' *lacho*, 'good,' *tud*, 'milk,' *mas*, 'meat,' *rat*, 'night,' *brishint*, 'rain,' *puro*, 'old,' *chik*, 'dirt,' *pani*, 'water,' *pus*, 'straw,' etc. The words *Rom*, etc., were always inquired about. The result has been a mass of carefully considered material, and reports made after much investigation and reflection, which are of great value as the views of men who live in the Orient and know the people, their history, and languages. On the ground many points occur to them, and are plain, which no one in Europe would ever think of. Their kindly suggestions as to lines of research, philological and otherwise, have been invaluable. These reports are concisely and admirably expressed, and bear on their face the evidence of their intrinsic value. They are so numerous that I cannot give even brief extracts from them all, and they should be published just as they are.

The general result or conclusion from these reports, and from study of the exceedingly meagre lists of Asiatic Gypsy words so far published,¹ is that the Asiatic dialects contain comparatively

¹ Summarised in Professor M. J. de Goeje's *Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales*: No. 3, *Sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, 1903.

few Gypsy words. The reason, it would seem, is simply because the Oriental Gypsies have nearly lost their Gypsy tongue, and speak a jargon. Many vocabularies sent to me from European Turkey contain almost entirely genuine Romani words, clear and plain. Large numbers of similar lists forwarded from Asia by equally competent observers, often of the same class as missionaries, have very few. This is my own experience also. Two or three lists might be liable to error; large numbers make the fact certain.

TURKESTAN AND AFGHANISTAN

Existing knowledge of the Gypsies in the various countries of the Orient may be summarised as follows.

In Turkestan and Afghanistan the Gypsies have almost entirely lost their Gypsy tongue. Only a few words are now retained. Von Schwarz's *Turkestan* gives interesting facts about this district.¹ Page 135: 'They make sieves, rope-harness, baskets, wooden shovels, dishes, etc., are horse-dealers, and horse-doctors; or lead about dressed-up monkeys, bears, and goats, which is one of their specialities.' This page has a sketch of a goat standing on the top of a pile of boxes, and on page 43 a picture of a wood-workers' camp is given. The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali² described the beauty, graces, and allurements of the Gypsy Lyuli girls he saw in Kabul in the sixteenth century, just as they are there to-day.

PERSIA

It is much the same in Persia, but more real Gypsy words are found. In Azerbaijan, I suspect, there are some who speak a better Gypsy, but generally all over Persia they speak, for the purpose of secrecy, a made-up jargon which is called by various names such as *gürbâti*, 'foreigner's talk,' *zârgârî*, 'goldsmith's talk,' etc. The words are Persian of different dialects, Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish, and some Gypsy. Often these words are disguised and corrupted in various ways. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europe und Asien*, vol. i. p. 49, and the works he cites, indicate somewhat more Gypsy words in vocabularies of Persian Gypsies

¹ Franz von Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlags-handlung, 1900.

² *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, 1553-1556 A.D.* Translated from the Turkish by A. Vambery; London, Luzac and Co., 1899, p. 64.

than my reports, Ouseley's list,¹ and the others I have examined. All however show a very corrupt dialect.

No census of Gypsies has ever been taken in the East, and any statements of numbers are simply estimates. The estimate of the number of Persian Gypsies, one hundred thousand, by Major P. Molesworth Sykes, is valuable, as he had exceptional advantages in making it. I regret that the scope of his work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* did not permit him to mention much of the valuable information he has sent to me.

KURDISH

Paspati's Asiatic Gypsy words and Patkanoff's are many of them Kurdish, and it may not be out of place to say something here about the Kurds. They speak an unwritten language, not, according to Justi, a Persian dialect, but a tongue which has developed in its own way. Large numbers of them are nomads, and are found over wide extents of territory in Asiatic Turkey, Persia, the Caucasus, and elsewhere. In many respects their language is similar to Gypsy, and numerous words are exactly the same in both languages, which words are different from all other tongues now.² This fact, and my interest in Gypsy, led me to learn to speak Kurdish, and to study the race carefully.³ My reports show that many Gypsies in Persia speak Kurdish when they are supposed to talk Gypsy. Luristan is supposed by many Persians to be the country of the Gypsies, and *Luri* is the commonest word for a Gypsy. The works of poets and other

¹ Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, London, 1823, pp. 400-5; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 21.

² Examples :—

Chîn, 'cut'; *chînāv*, 'I cut.' Kurdish *chîn*, 'cut grass,' 'mow'; *chîndm*, Zaza Kurdish *chîndmā* or *chîndmā*, 'I mow.'

Dāi, 'mother.' Kurdish *dāi*, 'mother.'

Dîlî, 'song,' *dîlîznāv*, 'I sing' or 'play.' Kurdish *dîlîzām*, 'I play.'

Dîndlo, 'foolish,' 'crazy.' Kurdish *dîn*.

Hiv, 'moon.' Kurdish *hiv*, 'moon.'

Kêr, 'house.' Zaza *kê*, 'house.' Hind. *ghār*.

Lav, 'word.' Kurdish *lêv*, 'lip'; Persian and Hind. *lāb*.

Shîl, 'cold.' Kurdish *shîl*, 'cold rain.'

See also a letter by Groome in the *Athenæum*, November 6, 1897, p. 635, reprinted in the 'Notes and Queries' section of this number of the *J. G. L. S.*

³ I was at first much startled to hear Kurds count in good Gypsy, say *kōsh* exactly for 'wood' (fagots to burn), *dāi* for 'mother,' *shūri* for 'knife,' *bār* for 'stone,' etc., and verily believed I had discovered the origin of the Romani tongue. But later I found that I was mistaken. Gypsy has indeed very many words which no other language, except Kurdish, now possesses, but they are not derived from Kurdish. Both languages have inherited them from some ancient dialect.

Persian writers, and lexicons, show that there is a popular tradition that the Gypsies live there. The fact is that the Luri of Luristan are Kurds, the Greater and Lesser Luri, and number some hundred thousands. They are not at all like Gypsies, whom they despise, being themselves a proud chivalric race of hard fighters as little like Gypsies as any people in the East. It has often occurred to my mind that possibly, and perhaps probably, many of those Hindu Jāt warriors, who defied the whole Arab power in the Euphrates Delta, fled when defeated to the mountains and became Kurds. I have details of many Kurd villages inhabited by Armenians who now speak only Kurdish. They have become Kurds in language, habits, mode of life, and everything except their Armenian religion, which they retain in secret. The *American Missionary Herald* contains full accounts of this,¹ and I have myself seen the religious hymns they sing printed in Kurdish with Armenian characters. Although many Gypsies speak Kurdish, taking it as a whole, Romani is much less like Kurd than Hindustani. Gypsy never came from Kurdish.

The Gypsies of South-Eastern Europe have a complete system of numerals different from the Persian, and curiously still more different from all Hindu dialects, but nearly all are exactly Kurdish up to thirty and both have the same striking peculiarities. Professor Justi considers that it is very possible that they have each inherited the same and a very old system of counting.

KAUKASUS

The Gypsies of the Caucasus use a purer language than those in Armenia, but still much corrupted. An important work by Patkanoff—*The Gypsies (Tz'igān')*—on the Oriental Gypsies of the Caucasus, Armenia, Turkestan, etc., is being translated by Dr. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking for this Journal. It tends to confirm the above conclusions, and merits a full discussion. A few extracts must however suffice:—

Quoting from Wilkins, he says on page 114: 'One class of Lyūli (Gypsies) in Central Asia are called by the other Lyūli and Sarts "Black Lyūli, Afghan Lyūli, Indian Lyūli, and Monkey Lyūli." From these names are apparent the principal occupations of these "dark skins" and their former home. They do not like these terms, but they call their race Beluchi.' 'The men have performing

¹ *American Missionary Herald*, Boston, U.S.A., Congregational House, 14 Beacon Street, March 1901, vol. xcvi., No. 3, p. 115.

animals (bears, monkeys, or goats); the women sell cosmetics, doctor, etc.' 'The Turkestan Lyüli say these are Gypsies like themselves, but *foreigners*.' Page 113: 'Of two hundred and twenty Lyüli words barely three or four are genuine Romani.' Of the words given as derivation unknown, I recognise eight as Kurdish and one as Arabic.¹ Page 73: 'In the Erivan district some Tzigany catch, tame, and exhibit snakes.' Page 74: 'Others go from house to house and dance to the sound of their kettle-drums, an especially Gypsy occupation.' 'Their language seems to be entirely lost. They speak Turkish and Armenian, the vernaculars there.' 'When the Tartar young men in the Poti district visit the Gypsy camps for a "lark," the sound of revelry from dancers, musicians, and singers is loud and boisterous.' Here, too, we find the dancing Gypsy boys dressed as girls, now common in Persia, Van, and formerly in Egypt. Page 74: 'These musicians, beautiful singers, and dancing boys are indispensable for every Tartar wedding.'

SYRIA

In Syria very many Gypsies speak only a jargon, but there are also many who speak a much purer Gypsy, which appears to be the same dialect as that spoken by Armenian Gypsies. There are numerous peculiarities of words, numerals, terminations, etc., common to both, and somewhat different from European Gypsy. Pott gives a long list of Seetzen's Syrian Gypsy words,² most of which are Arab, Turk, or Kurdish, and not Gypsy. So it is with Captain Newbold's Syrian Gypsy list.³ As far as can be judged from all vocabularies of Syrian Gypsy, the dialect is very much corrupted. I have received some short lists and phrases which would indicate that a purer Romani is spoken by some families, but still corrupt. Others are so peculiar as to lead to a suspicion they were obtained from European Turkish Gypsies travelling in Syria.

¹ *Charait*, 'bread' (edible). Same root as Kurdish *xâr*, Persian *xûr*.
Chaurik, 'man' (-ik, diminutive ending). Kurdish *khârt*, 'young man.'
Chogal, 'bull' (?). Kurdish and Turkish *bôgd*.
Dîz, 'goat.' Persian *bûz*, Kurdish *bûzîn*, 'goat.'
Ghadar, 'ass.' Persian and Kurdish *çar*, *khâr*.
Majôb, 'water.' Persian *âb*, Kurdish *ôv*, *âv*.
Pur, 'coverlet' (wool). Kurdish *pîrch*, 'wool.'
Rostoi, 'head.' Arabic *râs*.
Tarik, 'door.' Persian and Kurdish *dar*, 'door' (-ik, diminutive).

² Vol. i. p. 75, *et passim*.

³ Captain Newbold, 'The Gypsies in Egypt,' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1856, xvi. 285.

That splendid work by Paspatis, *Les Tchinghianés*, pp. 16, 17, etc., confirms the above conclusions as to the Gypsies of Asia Minor. The most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Gypsies of Mesopotamia by Père Anastase, published in *Al Machriq*, the Arabic journal of St. Joseph's University, Beirut, October, November, and December 1902, should be translated and made accessible to European readers.

EGYPT

In Egypt we find a similar condition, with still less Gypsy words. The grammar is founded on the Arabic, and the words are Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, and a few Gypsy. It is a secret jargon spoken by all Gypsies there. Syrian Gypsies have no difficulty in speaking with and understanding the Egyptian Gypsies, whenever they go to Egypt, or meet them in Syria, as they often do. Captain Newbold's vocabularies of Gypsy words from Egypt show a very corrupt dialect composed mostly of foreign words, Arabic, etc., but still containing more genuine Romani than my investigations have recorded among Gypsies who belong to the country. Von Kremer¹ confirms these reports and experiences both as to the language and as to the trades, occupations, and habits. So does Lane in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*.

The conclusions given above have very recently been substantiated by the splendid reports of two of the most learned Orientals in Egypt, Jacoub Artin Pasha and Ali Bey Behget, of Cairo. Artin Pasha from 1863-70 was interested in the question, and made extensive notes which he gave to Sir Richard, then Captain, Burton. Ali Bey is *Conservateur au Musée Arabe de Cairo*, Bab-el-Khark, Cairo. At the request of Artin Pasha for me, he devoted his summer vacation in 1906 to the investigation of the Gypsies in his native village. These reports are invaluable, both for their contents and because they are the only ones ever made by Orientals. Here we have accounts not only by *natives*, but also by scholars who have made careful studies on the spot. For these accounts I am indebted to the great kindness of Mr. M. de C. Findlay, H.M. Acting Agent and Consul General in Egypt, who, himself an able Oriental scholar, has also given me valuable suggestions and facts.

¹ *Aegypten*, i. 138, 'Die Zigeuner in Aegypten.'

CONCLUSION

There is still much to be learned about the Romané, not only in the Orient, but in Europe and America. They are secretive, deceptive, and averse to giving any correct information about themselves. Many things can only be learned in the East, but much can be studied more easily and better at home. Abroad one must know the language, and the surroundings are not always favourable and agreeable. Everywhere what the rising generation of Romani Rais needs is tact, and the experience of the *puro Rom* to put them on the right road. The difficulty of learning the *Romani chib* appals many, though without reason, but a splendid field for investigation in other and most fascinating directions is easy and open to all.

 III.—NAN GORDON

A FOLK-TALE, DICTATED BY A GALLOWAY TINKLER-GYPSY WOMAN, TO PROVOST ANDREW M'CORMICK, OF NEWTON STEWART, WHICH HINTS HOW THE GYPSIES COME TO HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH SOME OF THE NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND.¹

THERE was an old man John Gordon and his wife travelled the country; he made tin dishes and baskets all his days. The old man and the wife, Nancy, never had any family. They lived a long considerable time, longer than you'll tell me or I'll

¹ The story of 'Nan Gordon' is not directly referable to any known type. Miss C. S. Burne and Mr. Sidney Hartland (author of *The Science of Fairy Tales*), who very kindly examined the proof, report that certain episodes have a decidedly 'folk-tale' flavour. For example, the hero's recognition by his handiwork—'every one will remember the pepper in the cream tarts of the *Arabian Nights*'—and his being pitched overboard by the sea-captain who desires his wife, a not uncommon *motif* among maritime nations. 'Wherever it comes from,' writes Miss Burne, 'the tale has certainly been much corrupted; or rather, perhaps, incidents have been forgotten. The parentage of the heroine is never discovered, and she does not even find out that she is not the Gypsies' child—the story would be unaffected if she were. Then the hero is never reconciled to his parents, which seems needful for a proper *dénouement*, and the childless basket-making couple are duplicated rather stupidly.' She and Mr. Hartland agree in the opinion that the tale has the appearance of a prose version of a ballad, or a ballad and an old folk-tale combined. But Mr. William Macmath writes that there is no ballad in his remembrance which has the incidents of 'Nan Gordon,' and it is not to be found in Professor F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

Perhaps members of the G. L. S., by collecting variants of this tale, may be able to restore to their places the incidents which are wanting, or assist in tracing the story to its origin.

tell you,—real aul' Scotch travellers. They had come for years and years on to a gentleman's estate, and always got leave to come. They came this year as usual, sets their tent down, and it came that night a very, very stormy wet night. John rises in the morning for to look where his horse is and to gather a wee pickle sticks to boil the aul' wife's kettle. John looks a considerable period of time for his old horse, and is going along the water of Tweed when he sees something floating down. John gets a long stick with a 'cloop' on it like my ain staff. John looks and sees something floating—floating. 'Dear me, what is that?' He gets his long cloopy stick and pulls a cradle in. He opens it and sees a bonnie wee baby rolled up in blankets, shawls, and dress, and in the baby's bosom was a letter, and in the letter is written: 'They that find the baby shall never want. Here's fifty pounds; whenever this is done there's plenty more.' He fetches the cradle up in his arms to the camp mouth where the auld wife lies—

'O Nancy, Nancy, are ye sleepin' or waken? I have brought ye a handsome present.'

'What hae ye got me, John? Is there anything wrong?'

'Throw the camp mouth up, Nancy, till I show ye.'

She throws the camp mouth up. 'In the name o' guid (? God), John, what hae ye got me this morning? Ye aye get me something. Is't a gude trout or a salmon?'

'Na, na, it's naething o' the kin'. God sent us never wee bodies. Here's a bonnie wee body to yersel!'

'Hoo did ye get that, or whaur did it come frae?'

'Nancy, the cradle was floating down, and, auld wife, I got it for you, and God sent it to you. Ye're my wife for numbers of years and God never was merciful to send us a family, and God has sent us this for a comfort' (*sic*).

'Weel, John?'

'Nancy, can ye tell me whether it is a boy or a girl?'

'Hoots, John, it's a braw wee lassie, a braw wee miss.'

'Weel, then, Nancy, since it's a wee lassie, how will we get it bapteezed?'

'O John, send for a minister; we'll have it bapteezed where the Lord sent it.'

Well, then, they got the lassie baptized, and called it 'Nan Gordon,' after her andapted (*sic*) mother. Nancy rears her wee lassie until we have her toddlin' and rinnin' about a prosperous girl—her father's always teaching her night and morning for a

scholar. They move back and forward further than you'll tell me or I'll tell you until they come back to where the girl was found, but this girl never knew she was found in the water. She knew no more than that they were her father and mother. They rise in the morning. Her father sits down and is hammering away at tins. Miss Nan sits down alongside of her father making baskets. The old mother, she's standing a wee bitty distant from them, and a box on the ground, and a tray on the top of it, and she's baking scones. Nan is singing one of the most beautiful songs that ever you could hear tell of a lady opening her lips to sing.

Then the Duke's only son is coming up with his gun in his hand. He hears this young lady's voice singing this song so beautiful. There's a wee hill between where they were camping and the gentleman, and he 'cooers' doon to hear this beautiful song. He creeps along till he comes to the top of the hill,—the father and daughter sitting with their backs to the hill,—the one making tins and the young lady making baskets.

The young nobleman comes close up behind the lady's back. The old woman is standing baking scones and a frying-pan hangs on the *cheeties* (tripods).

The lady sings away. None of them saw the young nobleman. When she finished her song the lady cried out, 'Mother, will it be long till I get my breakfast?'

The nobleman could not 'keep in' any longer. He knew she was a lady, but did not know she was found in the water.

'Well,' he says to the tinkler, 'Mr. Gordon, you have got into papa's ground again.'

'I beg pardon, nobleman, I have got back again.'

'Please, Miss Gordon, I was listening on the back of the hill. Would you be kind enough to sing me that beautiful song you were just singing? I was at your back and did not get the full benefit of it.'

'Oh, well, gentleman, I beg pardon, I am not very good at it——'

'Now, Miss Gordon, you must sing that song to me.'

She looks at her father, then at her mother. The father says she must sing the nobleman the song. Then she says, 'Ma, will I do it?' 'Yes, daughter,' the mother replies.

She starts and sings the song, and the young man sits down on the grass beside them.

'Thank you kindly, Miss Gordon, for your beautiful song and

your beautiful voice.' He says to old John Gordon, 'Sir, I would like very well if you could teach me to make tins and your daughter could teach me to make a basket.'

'O sir,' says old John, a real old Scotchman, 'a nobleman's son, ye wouldna dae to sit ootbye and make baskets at a tent mooth.'

'Yes, sir, I would go with you all my life. I see your daughter, Mr. Gordon. I adore her as I adore my life. I love your daughter. You have got a good turn-out, a respectable horse and cart, but your daughter is to be my wife, and I will make them far better.'

'Nae, sir, you, a nobleman's son, to marry my poor girl, a tinkler's daughter!'

'Well, then, Mr. Gordon, do you know what I am going to do? I am going to make you lift your tent to-morrow, and you will go to the town of Hawick with your wife and my lovely intended wife. You will take the greatest inn in it and get stabling and outfits for tents and everything. When I come I will let you see what you will do. I will be with my intended father-in-law to-morrow.'

Here, then, to-morrow the nobleman's son comes riding on a horse to the inn—knocks at the door.

'Are there a class of people here called travelling tinklers?'

'Yes, noble gentleman, they are here.'

'Put my horse up, and put me into the room beside my father and mother and wife.'

He is shown in, and soon explains that he is to be married to-morrow, and asks his father-in-law to buy him 'a suit of clothes like yours, tinkler's clothes, corded trousers, plush waistcoat, red cravat, hairy bonnet, and strong whip.'

They get married, purchase a tent, a horse and cart, and all 'unitensils (*sic*) connected till a tinkler.' He asks his father to buy him an 'iron study, all kinds of tinkler's tools, raisin' hammer, crazin' hammer, layin'-doon hammers, natchin' hammers, sootherin' iron, shears, mallets, and scutcher (for flegging the tin), compass, nail tools, pliers, punches, chisel, elsins, draw wears (for makin' lips for dishes), and hatchet stake for seamin', and ratchet stick.'

They return to where they first met—the place where the lady was found—and camp there. There is a wee baby, about eighteen months old tumbling and playing on the grass. They are making

baskets, and the old woman is making some dinner when the old man John looks up and sees some *barra hantle* (well-to-do people) coming.

'There are your father and mother,' he says, and the young man pulls his bonnet down to hide himself as he sits at work. The couple express pleasure at seeing them back to the camp, and say how much they require their help, as the cook's dishes and gardener's baskets need mending, and ask the old man to send some one up for them in the morning. The lady sees the baby playing on the ground, but was not aware it was her grand-child.

'Whose baby is this, Mrs. Gordon?'

'It's my daughter's; she has been married.'

'And is this her baby?'

'Yes, my lady, thankful to say.'

'And your daughter sits and works with her baby lying on the ground?'

'Yes, my lady.'

'Well, then, is this your son-in-law? Could he not come up in the morning and bring the things down?'

'Yes, my lady.'

He gets off in the morning to his mother's castle, and draws up his cart at the kitchen door. He is asked in till the cook gathers up her dishes and the gardener comes with his baskets, and sits down at the end of the familiar big table where he used to get his meals. He looks around, 'and his heart begins to warm to the auld hoose.'

There was a mark, a mole like a blaeberry, on his face, and the cook passing back and forward notices what she thinks a fly on his face, and says, 'I beg pardon, there's a fly going to hurt you.' She rubbed his jaw with her finger, and confirmed him to be the nobleman's son.

She gives a great scream and goes to the nobleman and says: 'Sir, I have been with you for over twenty years, and never took any money off you except my meat and clothes. I will give all the rest of my wages if that is not your son.'

'Oh,' says the nobleman, 'I will shoot you for comparing my son to a tinkler.'

'I will let you keep my wages, and cut my head off, if that is not your son.'

Down they go into the kitchen. 'Get up, young man,' says

the cook; 'the gentleman is going to give you something for your wife. You are a married man?'

'Yes,' he says, 'beg pardon and thankful.'

Down came the mother in despair and looks long at her son. She knows the only mark on her son. She feels the feelings and knows it is her son. 'Oh, have mercy, that's my son.' The father took hold of him, saying, 'O my son, my son, have you come to be a tinkler?'

'Well,' he says, 'father, I would not give my life for your castle and all that it were worth and all you would leave me. Come, mother, and you will see my wife, and she can show you as many pounds as perhaps you can. I would not give up my travelling life for all the world. I wish my father-in-law and mother-in-law well, but I would not give up my wife and my baby for all the world.'

His father said, 'Well, son, I will give you any amount of money; I will put you into any of the great inns in (?) Duns,¹ if you would not disgrace me by going about the country as a tinkler.'

'Well,' he says, 'I will do so.'

The father sends them off. They take a great inn, and have two servants, a coachman, and a stableman.

Mrs. Gordon by this time has two babies, a daughter and a son. They had been in the inn for a long time, when one day a large vessel with twenty-one of a crew came in. The captain gave his men a night on shore, and they came up to this inn. The captain looked at the mistress of the inn, 'says nothing, but takes a great heart love' to the decent married woman, but she didn't know. The men stayed a while, and spent a good deal of money in it. Before leaving, the captain said they were leaving port soon, and asked him (the innkeeper) to come down with his wife and children. He also said they had been good to his men, and that if they came on board to have tea he would give them some of his cookery. The innkeeper said he would be pleased to do so, and would speak to his wife about it.

They go down to the boat and are taken to the cabin. They had a good repast, and after spending some time they set about coming home. The innkeeper takes his wife on to the top of the boat.

'What airt,' says the captain, 'does the wind blow?'

¹ Duns is an inland town.

'It blows south.'

'Well, then, will you hang on the helm by the neck like a dog, or will you walk a plank into the sea?'

His wife said, 'Oh no, we'll have mercy. We'll loose the small boat from the big boat, and fill it with clean victuals, water, and a bed, and give him a chance for his life.' They put him into this wee boat. He made the captain promise that he would keep his wife for one year and one day without asking to kiss her, or anything else concerning her.

His wife is in this boat with the captain, and sails further than I'll tell you or you'll tell me, till they reach their destination.

The gentleman floats about here and there until his food is done, and he lays himself down in the boat to let it take him where it will. He is awakened by the boat touching land, and gets up to look around him. There is nothing to see but woods. He has to lie out at night, and lives on figs, lemons, and oranges. His clothes are all torn. He wakens up one morning and determines to make away with himself, but sees a little bit off an old man cutting green wands. He went down to him. The old man was surprised, and asked him where he had come from. The gentleman told him he had been shipwrecked, and the old man then offered to take him down to his old wife at the hut.

They were sitting making baskets, the young man looking on, and afterwards they set off to gather more wands. The young man gathered fine wands, which the old man said would never make good baskets. So the young man sets to, and 'slypes' off the bark and made two baskets. The old man when he saw them was delighted with them, and said his wife would get good pay for such good work. The old woman was very thankful that such 'a useful boy had been sent to them.'

One day while selling baskets a lady came to the door of a house, and noticing the workmanship of a certain basket, asked who made it. 'Oh,' said the old woman, 'a gentleman who has come to my hut who was wrecked.'

'Well,' said the lady, 'ask him to make me another basket like this, and to come with it himself.' She had recognised the workmanship as that of her husband.

So on getting back to the camp the old woman told the young gentleman that a lady wanted another basket made, and to call with it himself. He made another basket and called at the door

of the house. It was not convenient for the servant, so his own wife opens the door. 'Fine morning, mam,' not thinking about his wife.

She takes him upstairs, and flings down the basket, saying, 'It is not the basket I want, it is you. Do you know that I am Nan Gordon, the mother of your weans, your married wife?'

'Oh dear, oh dear, God has spared me, my lady, to meet you once more.'

'My loving husband, I am glad to see you. Now I will tell you what I am going to do. There is a ship going to be sold, and this captain that is going to marry me will bid any sum, but whatever he bids, you bid more. You will go and get yourself dressed. There is a gold watch and chain. You will take me home with you yet.'

The young man purchases the boat, and asks the captain to come down with his wife and have some wine before sailing. He thanked the young man, and said he would do so. They come and have their tea. He tells the seamen to put out the sail, and they are far away when the captain wishes to go home.

'Oh,' says the nobleman, 'what airt does the wind blow?'

'I suppose from the south. Come to the deck.'

They step up to the deck. 'Now,' says the nobleman, 'the wind blows any way. You would not spare my life, but my wife saved my life by begging a boat. You won't get leave to hang by the helm, but you will walk the plank into the sea now.'

Long and far, and far and longer than you can tell me, and then they come to Duns quay. 'Oh,' says the wife, 'our wee boy and lassie! We'll go up to the inn and ask for wine, and to see the master and mistress, and ask if our weans are alive or dead.' They went up to the inn and got rooms, and asked the waiters to ask the master and mistress to come and have a glass of wine with them.

'We have no master or mistress here,' said the waiter. 'About eighteen months ago there were some foreign sailors who decoyed my master and mistress away, but their wee boy and girl are at school.'

'Oh,' said the gentleman, 'how did you manage without a master or mistress?'

The woman could 'thole' no longer, but asked for the weans. She runs to catch the one and the father the other.

IV.—VON DEN ZIGEUNERN IN SERBIEN¹

Von Prof. Dr. TIHOMIR R. GJORGJEVIĆ in Belgrad

Zahl.—Sprache.—Glauben.—Lebensweise.—Berufszweige.—Gesellschaftliche Gliederung der Zigeuner im Königreich Serbien.—Zigeunernamen.

NACH der Volkszählung in Serbien vom 31 Dezember 1900 lebten im Lande 46,148 Zigeuner. Sie bildeten somit 1,85 % der Gesamtbevölkerung Serbiens.

Alle Zigeuner Serbiens sprechen nicht dieselbe Sprache als Muttersprache. Nach den statistischen Daten der Volkszählung vom 31 Dezember 1900 sprachen 27,846 Individuen serbisch, 13,412 zigeunerisch, 4,709 rumaenisch und 181 türkisch als ihre Muttersprache, oder in Prozenten ausgedrückt: serbisch 60,34 %, zigeunerisch 29,06 %, rumaenisch 10,20 % und türkisch 0,40 %. Indessen verstehen auch alle anderssprachigen Zigeuner serbisch. Eine Ausnahme davon bildet nur ein verschwindend geringer Bruchteil jener rumaenischen Zigeuner, der mit Rumaenen vermischt lebt und gleich den übrigen Rumaenen, keine andere als nur die rumaenische Sprache kennt. Viele Zigeuner in den neuerworbenen Landgebieten Serbiens, sowie die jüngsten Zuzügler aus der Türkei sprechen neben der zigeunerischen und serbischen Sprache auch noch türkisch. Die nur noch der serbischen Sprache kundigen Zigeuner erinnern sich gar nicht mehr der Zeit, wann sie ihre Zigeunersprache aufgegeben. Manche Zigeuner, wie dies mit den Weissen Zigeunern an der Drina der Fall ist, verstanden überhaupt keine andere Sprache mehr als bloß die serbische, die sie während ihres früheren Aufenthaltes unter bosnischen Serben erlernt hatten. Die rumaenisch sprechenden Zigeuner, und zu ihnen gehört der grösste Teil der rumaenischen, haben auch schon längst ihre Zigeunersprache vergessen, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach noch während ihres Verweilens in Rumaenien. Es geht dies auch daraus hervor, dass sie behaupten, sie hätten überhaupt niemals zigeunerisch gesprochen. Die geringste Anzahl Zigeuner spricht türkisch. Das sind jene Zigeuner, die noch vor ihrer Zuwanderung aus der Türkei ihre Muttersprache vergessen und die türkische dafür eingetauscht hatten. Es muss erwähnt werden,

¹ Nach der Handschrift des Verfassers verdeutscht von Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss in Wien.

dass die zigeunerisch sprechenden Zigeuner, wenn sie sich der serbischen Sprache bedienen, den charakteristischen Akzent ihrer Muttersprache auch aufs serbische übertragen und ihrer Aussprache nach leicht als Zigeuner zu erkennen sind.

Auf dem Gebiete des Königreichs Serbiens stellte ich drei verschiedene Mundarten der Zigeunersprache fest: die Mundart der längst eingewanderten, angesiedelten Zigeuner, die der vor nicht langer Zeit eingewanderten Ansiedler, und die Mundart der Wanderzigeuner. Diese Mundarten unterscheiden sich von einander sowohl durch ihren Wort- als Formenschatz. Die Unterschiede sind mitunter so erheblich, dass die verschiedenen Mundarten sprechenden Zigeuner einander kaum verstehen können. Das mag man als Beweis dafür annehmen, dass alle zigeunerisch sprechenden, im Königreich Serbien lebenden Zigeuner, trotz ihrer sprachlichen Zusammengehörigkeit, dennoch seit langen Zeiten von einander getrennt gelebt und sich erst nach einer andauernden Trennung auf dem Gebiete Serbiens wiedergefunden haben. Vielleicht gibt es noch welche zigeunerische Mundarten in Serbien, doch mir sind sie unbekannt geblieben.

Obgleich es längst bekannt ist, dass die Zigeuner kein besonderes Gewicht auf die Religion legen,¹ so muss man doch hervorheben, dass sie in Serbien, zumindest offiziell, nur zweien Konfessionen, der moslimischen und altgläubigen (griechisch-orientalischen) angehören. Zum Islam bekennen sich jene Zigeuner, die über die Türkei nach Serbien eingezogen, zur christlich-altgläubigen Kirche aber die Einwanderer aus Rumänien und noch einige Gruppen türkischer Zigeuner, die als Christen bereits aus der Türkei eingewandert sind.

Nach der amtlichen serbischen Statistik vom 31 Dezember 1900 gab es in Serbien moslimischer Zigeuner 11,689, altgläubiger

¹ Vrgl. H. M. G. Grellmann, *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, Göttingen, 1787, S. 102; A. G. Paspatis, *Études sur les Tchingianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*, S. 13; Anri Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. ii. S. 78; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. i. S. 365 u.s.w. Die Zigeuner in Serbien sagen von sich selber aus: In der Welt gibt es sieben-und-siebenzig und eine halbe Religion; diese halbe Religion fiel den Zigeunern zu. Ein serbisches Volksapriechwort charakterisiert den Zigeunerglauben also: 'Du Tropf, welchem Glauben gehörst du an?' so befragte man einen Zigeuner und der antwortete: 'Was für einem dir beliebt, o Herr!' (Vuk S. Karadžić, *Srpske narodne poslovice*, Belgrad, 1900, S. 151). Man vergleiche dazu den Abschnitt: Der Zigeuner und die Welt übersinnlicher Erscheinungen, bei Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss in *Zigeunerhumor*; 250 *Schnurren, Schwänke und Märchen*, Leipzig 1907, S. 3-42, wo 47 Erzählungen lustig und drastisch einen völligen Mangel an religiöser Schwärmerei des Zigeuners beleuchten.

34,459 Seelen. Es ist überflüssig hervorzuheben, dass die Zigeuner, welcher Konfession immer sie auch zugehören mögen, in der Befolgung ihrer religiösen Gebräuche und Vorschriften ausserordentlich lau sind. Ebenso hat sich unter ihnen von ihrer vormaligen Religion, zu der sie sich vor Annahme des Monotheismus bekannten, so gut wie nichts erhalten.

Nach ihrer Lebensführung schieden sich die Zigeuner bis kürzlich in zwei Gruppen: in die *angesiedelten* und die *Wanderzigeuner*. Zufolge der strengen gesetzlichen Massnahmen sind heutzutage nahezu alle Zigeuner Serbiens angesiedelt. Sie leben in Häusern und Erdlöchern, während vorher ein Teil von ihnen unter Gezelten hauste, zumal als ihnen das Wandern noch erlaubt war, was gegenwärtig noch selten vorkommt.

Die Zigeuner entbehren eine eigene Nationaltracht, kleiden sich vielmehr gleich wie ihre serbische Umgebung.

Die Ansprüche der Zigeuner auf gute Ernährung sind von allergrösster Bescheidenheit. An Wochentagen ernähren sie sich mit trockenem, häufig sehr schlechtem Brod oder mit Hirse. Ausser Brod genügen ihnen Brennessel, Gemüse, Lauch, Papriken, Kraut, Gurken und dergleichen. Nur an ihren Festtagen bereiten sie besondere gute Bissen, zumeist von Lammfleisch, dann aber tun sie sich an Speise und Trank mehr als genug. Das Tabakrauchen bereitet den Zigeunern einen ungewöhnlichen Genuss und dem fröhnen Männer, Frauen und Kinder. So verbringen die Zigeuner ihr Dasein in Frohsinn und Sorglosigkeit, ohne bedeutende Präensionen, doch auch ohne namhafte Anstrengungen.

In Serbien befassen sich die Zigeuner mit gar verschiedenartigen Gewerben und oft unterscheidet man sie im Lande nach ihren Berufen als *kovači* (Schmiede), *klinčari* (Nagelschmiede), *bakračari* (Kupferschmiede), *kotlari* (Kesselschmiede), *kalajdžije* (Verzinner), *burgijari* (Bohrerschmiede), *svrdlari* (Bohrerschmiede), *grebenari* (Rechenmacher), *koritari* (Muldenmacher), *kašikari* (Löffelmacher), *linguraši*, *linguri*, *vretenari* (Spindelerzeuger), *džambasi* (Pferdekenner), *meškari* (Bährenführer) *pletari* (Flechter), *krošnjari* (Körbchenflechter), *perjari* (Federnhändler), *torbari* (Rucksackerzeuger), *svirači* (Musiker) u.s.w. Am meisten befassen sich die Zigeuner mit dem Schmiedehandwerk und der Musik.

Der Zeitpunkt des ersten Erscheinens der Zigeuner auf dem Gebiete des heutigen Königreichs Serbien ist unbekannt. Weder



die ausländischen noch serbischen Geschichtdenkmäler bewahren darüber auch nur die geringste Kunde. Aber den Nachrichten gemäss über die Ankunft der Zigeuner in den Serbien angrenzenden Ländern (auf Kreta i. J. 1322, auf Korfu i. J. 1346, in Rumänien i. J. 1370) ist die Annahme gestattet, dass es ihrer auch in Serbien bereits im xiv. Jahrh. welche gegeben.

Was das Schicksal dieser ersten Zigeunergruppen in Serbien gewesen sein mag, davon weiss ich nichts zu sagen. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sind sie wohl ihrem Wanderdrang folgend oder wegen des Ansturmes der Türken auf Serbien tiefer nach Europa gezogen und an ihre Stelle sind etappenweise weitere Zigeunergruppen gekommen, die sich bis jetzt in Serbien behaupteten. Es sind jedoch nicht sämtliche Zigeuner Serbiens von ein und derselben Gruppe, auch nicht auf einmal und von einer und derselben Einbruchsstelle eingewandert. Genaue Erforschung des Zigeunertums führte mich nur Einsicht, dass sie von mehreren Seiten dahergezogen. Das lehrt uns ja deutlich ihre Sprache, ihr Glaubensbekenntnis und zum Teil auch ihre geographische Verbreitung.

Die erste Schichte der gegenwärtig in Serbien befindlichen Zigeuner bilden die *Türkischen Zigeuner*. Sie wanderte vom Süden über die Türkei ein. Der Zeitpunkt ihrer Ankunft ist unbestimmbar, doch lässt es sich nach dialektischen Verschiedenheiten ihrer Sprache sicher schliessen, dass sie weder auf einmal noch aus einem Orte gekommen. Mit einer geringen Ausnahme sind sie Moslimen, unter den einzelnen Zigeunern treten jedoch mundartliche Abweichungen auf, die es bestätigen, dass die Zigeuner wohl lange Zeit von einander getrennt gelebt haben müssen, und dass ihr Vordringen nordwärts in Serbien, nicht auf einmal, sondern ruckweise erfolgt sei. Man kann sie als die älteste Schichte der heutigen Zigeuner ansehen, die eine Verstärkung durch weitere Einwanderungen erfuhren. Als letzte Wellen ihrer Wanderungen sind die Zuzügler aus jüngster Zeit zu betrachten, die aus der Türkei nach Serbien einzogen und bloss türkisch oder neben ihrer zigeunerischen auch die türkische Sprache verstehen. Von diesen Zigeunern gibt es nur welche in den südlichen Teilen Serbiens, was da beweist, dass sie auf ihren Wanderzügen nur soweit vorzudringen vermochten. Diesen Unterschied kennen die Zigeuner auch selber und darnach benennen sich die längst nach Serbien eingewanderten *Gadžikano Roma* (Einzahl: *gadžikanó Rom*), was in ihrer Sprache *serbische*

*Zigeuner*¹ bedeutet, die jüngst zugewanderten aber *Korano Roma* (Einzahl: *Korano Rom*) das heisst: *moslimische Zigeuner*.² Die Serben beachten dies sehr wenig, vielmehr heissen sie samt und sonders die moslimischen Zigeuner *turski Cigani* (türkische Z.).

Die zweite Schichte der Zigeuner Serbiens bilden die rumaenischen Zigeuner (*vlaski cigani*). Aller Vermutung nach siedelten sich viele von ihnen anfangs des XVII. Jahrhunderts zugleich mit den Rumaenen in Serbien an, die den unleidlichen sozialen Zuständen in Rumaenien entflohen waren. Ursprünglich gab es ihrer in Serbien am meisten in jenen Orten, in denen Rumaenen zu Hause sind, später jedoch zerstreuten sie sich auch nach anderen serbischen Bezirken, und so begegnet man ihnen heutigentags fast überall in Serbien, Bosnien, Bulgarien und noch weiter hin.³ Ihre Zuwanderung aus Rumaenien hielt bis auf die jüngsten Tage an. Manche wissen anzugeben, wann ihre Grossväter oder Väter und selbstverständlich, wann sie selber eingewandert sind. Nur ein Teil von ihnen spricht neben der rumaenischen auch die Zigeunersprache, der grösste Teil aber versteht nicht mehr zigeunerisch, sondern spricht gleich den übrigen Rumaenen nur rumaenisch. Sie selber nennen sich: *ciganje*,

¹ *Gadžo* bedeutet zigeunerisch der *Fremde*, der *Ausländer* (Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, ii. 131; Paspatis, *Études sur les Tchinghianés*, pp. 23 und 235). Diesen Namen geben die Zigeuner in der Türkei dem Türken, in Serbien dem Serben, in Deutschland dem Deutschen, u.s.w. *Gadžikano* ist ein Beiwort von *Gadžo*. *Rom* bedeutet Mensch, doch diesen Namen legen die Zigeuner nur sich selber bei, ein Zigeuner anderer Nationalität heisst aber *manuš*.

² *Korano Rom*, zigeunerisch, Z. der sich zum Quoran bekennt. In der Türkei heissen sich nach Paspatis (*ibid.*, 23-4) die moslimischen Zigeuner *Khorakhano Rom* (moslimischer Z.), die christlichen Z. wieder *Balamanó Rom* (d.h. griechische Z.; *Balamanó* ist nämlich der zigeunerische Ausdruck für Griechen).

³ Weigand traf auf seiner Reise i. J. 1889 rumaenischer Zigeuner sogar zwischen Elbassan und Berat in Albanien an. Er bemerkt: 'Jedes Gut in dieser Gegend hat seine Zigeuner, die aber nicht als Tagelöhner beschäftigt, sondern auch als Bauern angesiedelt sind. Unter den umherwandernden Zigeunern, wie Kesselflickern, Schmieden, Bärenreibern findet man viele, die, aus Rumaenien stammend, sich auch der rumaenischen Sprache als Muttersprache bedienen, während die Einheimischen ausser der Zigeunersprache meist aller Balkansprachen mächtig sind.'—(*Die Aromanen*, I. S. 78.) Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss teilt mir mit: 'Im J. 1906 liessen sich in Wien-Ottakring dreissig rumaenische Zigeuner, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, in einer Wohnung nieder. Sie sprechen zigeunerisch, rumaenisch und leidlich deutsch. Deutsch erlernten sie während ihres Aufenthaltes in Siebenbürgen. Die erwachsenen Männer und Frauen befassen sich mit Hausierhandel und zwar führen sie Schnittwaaren. Lesen und schreiben können sie zwar nicht, aber meine Mitteilung von der Gypsy-Lore-Society und dem Erscheinen einer Zeitschrift für Zigeunerforschung nahmen sie mit grosser Begeisterung auf. Sie verlangten von mir die Adresse der Redaktion, um sich die Zeitschrift kommen zu lassen. Da zur Zeit in Wien eine Blatternepidemie nun sich greift, hetzen ängstliche Gemüter gegen diese Zigeuner die Sanitätsbehörde auf und es ist mir nicht gut möglich, mich mit den Lenten näher zu beschäftigen.'

romni, rudari, aurari und *linguri*. Das erste Wort ist gleich *cigani* (Zigeuner) in rumaenischer Aussprache, das zweite bedeutet dasselbe wie Romaene. Das Wort *rudari* stammt vom serbischen *ruda*, das Erz, ab, und *rudar* ist ein Erzschrürer *aurar* aber ein Goldschrürer.¹

Lingur kommt vom rumaenischen Worte *lingura*, der Löffel, her; *linguri* sind also die Löffelerzeuger.² Ihre griechisch-orientalische Konfession brachten sie aus Rumaenien mit. Sie erinnern sich nicht mehr, wann ihre Vorfahren die Taufe angenommen. Von Sprache und Glauben abgesehen unterscheiden sich diese Zigeuner von den übrigen noch durch ihren Beruf. Die rumaenischen Zigeuner sind also ursprünglich über die Balkanhalbinsel gewandert, haben sich in Rumaenien einheimisch gemacht und sind dann wieder auf die Balkanhalbinsel nach Serbien, Bulgarien, Bosnien und noch weiter zurückgekehrt.

Die dritte Schichte bilden die *weissen Zigeuner (beli cigani)*,³

¹ 'Rudar und Aurar heisst in Siebenbürgen der Zigeuner, der Goldwäscherei treibt' (F. Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, I. S. 35).

² In Bosnien heissen sich die rumaenischen Zigeuner *Karavlati*, nach Karavlatka und Karabogdanska, wie die Serben die Walachei und die Moldau nennen (Muntania oder Tara Româneasca). Vrgl. Teodor Filipescu, *Colonile Române din Bosnia*, Bucuresti, 1906, p. 201; Glasnik, *Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1907, Heft I. S. 79, nur vertritt Filipescu die Ansicht, die Ansiedler wären keine Zigeuner, sondern Rumaenen. In Slavonien heisst man die rumaenischen Zigeuner *Koritari*, Muldenmacher, *Korito* (serbisch), die Mulde. — (Filipescu a. a. O., S. 199 und Glasnik, Z. M. 1907, I. S. 79.)

³ Als erster machte auf sie Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss aufmerksam und gab zigeunerisch-slavische Sprachproben in *Ausland, Wochenschrift f. Länder- und Völkerkunde*, Stuttgart, 1887. Auch sonst gedenkt er ihrer des öfteren in seinen Schriften. Eine Reihe von Liebezaubereien teilt er in den *Slavischen Volkforschungen*, Leipzig, 1908, mit. In Bosnien teilt man die Zigeuner in moslimische, christliche und rumaenische ein (*muhamedanski, hrišćanski, karavlati*). Zu Gunsten dieser Einteilung spricht nicht allein die religiöse und sonstige Überlieferung, sondern auch die sprachliche Verschiedenheit. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach drangen die ersten Züge noch im xv. Jahrhundert aus Griechenland über Altserbien vor, die anderen aber kamen nach Bosnien aus Rumaenien über Bulgarien und Serbien. Mit Hinblick auf ihre Lebensweise und ihre anthropologischen Verschiedenheiten scheidet man die moslimischen Zigeuner in Bosnien in die s. g. *Schwarzen Zigeuner (arni cigani, čergari, gurbeti, frauni)*, die in einem halb-nomadischen Zustande leben und zigeunerisch sprechen, und in die *angesiedelten oder Weissen Zigeuner (Bijeli cigani)*, die den Wanderdrang eingebüsst, sesshaft geworden, festgebaute Häuser bewohnen und serbisch reden. Die altgläubigen Zigeuner (*karavlati*) sprechen rumaenisch. Über die Zigeuner Bosniens besteht bereits eine kleine Litteratur: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bosnien und Hercegovina*. IX. Hft. Lfrg. 353. *Physische Beschaffenheit der einheimischen Bevölkerung*, von Leopold Glück, S. 286-299. Ferdo Hefele, *Vienac*, Agram 1890, Nr. 46; *Bosanski Hrvat (Glas Hercegovca)*, 1891, Nr. 4); A. Ka: *Bosnische Karavlaten (Bosnische Post)*, Sarajevo, 1895, Nr. 9 u. 10); M. Gj. Mutić (*Sarajevski list*, 1904, Nr. 11), G. Filipescu a. a. O., S. 199-293, und derselbe in *Glasnik Zem. Muzeja*, 1907, Hft. 1-3.

die in einigen Orten des Drinagebietes leben. Sie sind relativ jüngere Einwanderer aus Bosnien, wo sie in grösserer Anzahl vorkommen. Sie sprechen bloss eine bosnisch-serbische Mundart, was darauf hinweist, dass sie ihre Zigeunersprache unter dem Einfluss der serbischen schon in Bosnien verlernten. Ihren moslimischen Glauben brachten sie aus Bosnien mit. Diese Zigeuner, unter denen sogar blondfarbige vorkommen, sind nicht so dunkel wie die übrigen. Sowohl in ihrer Lebensweise als in ihren Berufsarten assimilirten sie sich ihrer serbischen Umgebung.

Ab und zu kamen Zigeuner über Österreich-Ungarn nach Serbien. In Serbien heisst man sie *Banater Zigeuner* (*Banatski cigani*). Sie pflegten als Pferdetauscher und Betrüger, namentlich auf Märkten zu erscheinen, um zu handeln, zu täuschen und zu stehlen, während die Frauen Karten aufschlugen und die Zukunft voraussagten. Sie sind unschwer zu erkennen, weil sie sich in die in Österreich-Ungarn provinzübliche Nationaltrachten kleiden. Sie pflegten sich in Serbien höchst selten sesshaft zu machen, sondern landstreicherten bloss herum und kehrten dann wieder heim. Sie ziehen von Ort zu Ort mit ihrem Wagen, vor den gewöhnlich nur ein Ross eingespannt ist, mit zwei Pferden, wenn es ein Deichselwagen. Wo sie Halt machen, errichten sie ein Zelt, unter dem sie während ihres Aufenthaltes nächtigen. Von ihnen verblieb in Serbien nur ein geringer Bruchteil und zwar ein so geringer, dass man von ihnen bis auf wenige Familien in Belgrad und in einigen Grenzorten kaum etwas zu sagen hat. Das Herüberkommen nach Serbien war ihnen allezeit untersagt und mit Erlass vom 1 Juli 1894 Zahl 7200 hat man ihnen die Grenzüberschreitung vollständig verboten.¹

Kosta N. Kostić gedenkt noch einer Art von Zigeunern im Piroter Kreise:—‘Jedes Dorf im Piroter Kreise,’ sagt er, ‘hat seinen Zigeuner, der den Dörflern im Sommer ihre Wirtschaftsgeräte schmiedet. Bei dem Zigeuner in Visočka Ržana lassen die Crnovunci (Kuco-Vlachen) ihre Rosse beschlagen. Diese Zigeuner in den Piroter Dörfern kleiden sich in Weiss gleich den Bauern (*belétine*, *Weisszeug*), sprechen zumeist serbisch, besuchen unsere Kirche, schlagen jedoch nicht das Kreuz. Es kam vor, dass sie sich mit Serbinnen verheirateten, wie ja auch Serben Zigeunerinnen zu Frauen nehmen. Dem Volke “ekelt nicht” (*ne gadi se*) so sehr vor ihnen, wie in den Städten vor den

¹ *Zbirka raspisa policijske struke*, Skupio M. S. Vladislavljević, Belgrad, 1887, p. 130.

sogenannten "Türkischen." Zumeist haben sie serbische und griechische Vornamen (z. B. Stojan, Dimitrije) und das Volk heisst sie *Weisse Zigeuner* (*beli cigani*).¹ Aber auch von diesen Zigeunern weiss ich sonst nichts mehr zu sagen.

Sowie in allen anderen Ländern die Zigeuner mannigfache Namen haben,² so auch in serbischen. Ihr gewöhnlichster und allgemeinsten Name ist *Cigani*. Auch das Diminutiv davon *Ciga*, *cigiš* und *cile* ist im häufigen Gebrauch, zumal wenn man sie aufziehen, verspotten oder sich mit ihnen einen Spass machen will. Ausserdem nennt der Serbe die Zigeuner auch noch *Faraoni*, *Firaoni*, *Firani*, *Firauni*, *Virauni*, *Firge* und *Virge*, denn man betrachtet sie als Nachkommen des Volkes Pharaos. Ferner: *Magjupi* und *Jegjupei* (in Montenegro), *Jegjupi* (in Dalmatien), *Jejupi*,³ *Magjupci* (in Bar), *Gjupei* oder *Jegjupi* (in Mazedonien),⁴ *Jegjupti* (in Debar),⁵ alles Namen nach Ägypten.

Im Šajkašer Bataillon benannte man die Zigeuner *Alamani*.⁶ Auch heisst man die Zigeuner *Mange* (in Aleksinac und im neuen Gebiete), *Gabelji* und *Šmange* (in Montenegro), *Ugri* (in Temnić), aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach darum, weil sie aus Ungarn zugewandert sind.⁷

Die Wanderzigeuner nennt der Serbe: *čergari*, *čergaši*, *čurgašinci* (vom türkischen Worte *čerga*, eine Plache, ein langes, auf zwei Säulen ruhendes Zelt⁸); *Katunari* (vom albanesischen *Katun* Ansiedlung, Dorf); *Gurbeti*, *Kurbeti* und *Korbeti* (vom türkischen *gurbet* = Landstreicher, Vagabund⁹). In Doljni Dobrić in der Nähe von Lešnica heisst man die Wanderzigeuner *Labinari* weil sie das Fleisch von *Labine* (Äser, verendetes Vieh) essen. Im Vranjaer Kreise nennt man die Zigeuner altgläubiger Konfession *Gjorgovci* oder auch *Jorgovci*.

¹ Kosta N. Kostić, *Stara srpska trgovina i industrija*, S. 114 u. 115.

² Siehe darüber: Grellmann, *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, S. 19-21; Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, i. S. 26-54; Paspatis, *Études sur les Tchingianés*, S. 17-26 u. s. w.

³ So die Schreibart bei den chrowotischen Schriftstellern der Ča-Mundart (Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, na svijet izdaje jugoslavenska Akademija u Zagrebu s. v. jegjupak und jegjukpa).

⁴ *Makedonija, etnografija i statistika* ot V. Končov, S. 114.

⁵ Brastvo, B. ix. u. x. S. 444.

⁶ Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik*, 1898 s. v. *Alamani*.

⁷ *Temnić, antropogeografska studija*, Stanoja, M. Mijatovića, S. 376.

⁸ Gj. Popović, *Rečnik turskih i drugih istočanskih reči u srpskom jeziku*, S. 252.

⁹ Das Wort *gurbet* dürfte höchst wahrscheinlich arabischen Ursprunges sein und ist in die türkische Sprache eingedrungen. Arabisch bedeutet *gurbet* Fremdling, Ausländer, aber auch: reisen in fremde Länder. Gj. Popović a. a. O., S. 66.

correction of the mass of raw material, to the acquisition of which he had devoted almost all his life. Without consideration for the weakness of his health, this eminent toiler finished a few years later the translation of all his matter into the Russian language, and thereafter devoted himself to the philological side of the question, offering me the use of his material so far as my power and knowledge would permit. In view of the unique and original character of Kounavine's materials, and of their importance to ethnography, it would obviously be highly desirable that all the learned world should be acquainted with them, but so far it has not been fated that this should be accomplished. The vastness of the material at his disposal did not permit this eminent labourer to give to the world the work of his thirty-five years' wandering, vast in bulk and contents, but in actual fact only of interest to a few specialists. This is why our literature has not been enriched by such a philological treasury, the like of which does not exist in western European science. Parallely with the translation and correction of his material M. Kounavine commenced an original work on *The Language and Dialects of the Gypsies of Europe and Asia*, which he untiringly carried to an end, without regard to the incipient senile atrophy of the optic nerves. What would have been the importance of this work we do not know, but from what we were permitted to see, it may be said that it would have been to some extent capital, in as much as, besides the special question "Of the Language and Dialects of the Gypsies," there would have been touched upon in it one of the most important questions in comparative philology, the influence of one language on another, and the relation of primitive Aryan tongues to their second and third derived tongues.'

We have reproduced this large extract, not because we altogether agree with what is said in it, but to show that there are among us people who, silently but steadily, work at the solution of the questions referred to in it. It is to be regretted that people of this kind do not, for various reasons, publish gradually the materials collected or results of their inquiries, but should wait for ten years in order to do at one stroke what can only be done completely by the successive work of many students.

All that is related here about M. Kounavine seems to me to suffer from much exaggeration. For an educated man not ten years but ten months would be enough to acquire a complete

knowledge of the language of Russian Gypsies, in which, with every effort, it is impossible to reckon more than one thousand or fifteen hundred words, including all dialectical variations. Wandering for thirty-five years in little-known countries, it would be possible to learn thoroughly not only Gypsy, but many other unknown tongues, and, in addition, to become a celebrated traveller and to make geographical discoveries of the first importance. The very inferences ascribed by the author to M. Kounavine are of such a nature that they show a man little acquainted with the literature of the subject. It may be added that it is the materials collected and not the inquiries of the author which are of interest to science. However this may be, it is to be wished that this rich material may fall into more energetic and experienced hands, and that its appearance in print may not be long delayed.

But if in literature little is found about the Asiatic Gypsies in general, still less is known about one part of them, the Gypsies of the Transcaucasus. It is doubtful whether the question of the language, mode of life, and distribution of the Gypsies in Transcaucasia has been more than touched upon in literature. I, at least, have not been able to meet with any more or less circumstantial reports on this matter. The list of words of the race of *Boşà* (in Turkey and in the western Transcaucasus) which has come to my hands, compelled me to become acquainted with the literature about the Gypsies. My desire for knowledge was to a great degree satisfied with regard to the European Gypsies, but about the language of the Transcaucasian Gypsies I could find literally no information. In various descriptions of the Caucasus I found fragmentary information as to the customs and manner of life of these strangers, but hardly any similar information about the *Boşà* and *Karacî* of the Transcaucasus, who are of the same race as the European Gypsies. E. G. Weidenbaum kindly communicated to me a small manuscript composed by himself, in which is contained all that is known about the Transcaucasian Gypsies. From this manuscript I have, with the author's permission, extracted all that bears upon the subject which interests us. The manuscript gives the following particulars as to the distribution of the Gypsies in the Transcaucasus.

'In the Government of Tiflis.—(1) In Tsalk there is a settlement of Armenian-speaking Gypsies. They came from Turkey together with Greeks and Armenians after the war of 1829. (2)

Die Zigeuner nennen sich selber *Roma* (Einzahl, *Rom*), was in ihrer Sprache *Menschen* bedeutet, jedoch nur Zigeuner, während andere Menschen *manuš* heissen.

Mit dem Namen *Roma* nennen sich die Zigeuner, wo immer in der Welt sie auch sein mögen.¹ Aber auch die Zigeuner selber unterscheiden sich untereinander und heissen sich *Arlje*² und *Tamari*,³ falls sie Wanderzigeuner sind. Die Wanderzigeuner nennen sich zuweilen auch *Roma caranca*, was Zeltzigeuner bedeutet, denn zigeunerisch heisst Zelt *cara*. Die längst in Serbien eingewanderten Zigeuner nennen sich *Gadžikano Roma*, die jüngern Zuwanderer aus der Türkei aber *Korano Roma*. Die rumaenischen Zigeuner heissen bei den übrigen Zigeunern *Vlaško Roma* oder *Vlahurija*. Wie sich aber die rumaenischen Zigeuner selber nennen, haben wir bereits oben angeführt.

Es gibt noch eine Art von Zigeunern, die bei ihnen *Lajasi*, oder *Legaši* oder *Leasi* heissen. Das sind, so sagen sie, die Zigeuner unterster Stufe: schmierig, Taugenichtse, Lügenbolde und Diebe. Wo die eigentlich daheim sind, wüsste ich nicht anzugeben, doch wenn eine Gruppe der anderen einen Schimpf antun will, so verleiht sie ihr diesen Namen.⁴

V.—DUKERIPEN TA CHORIBEN

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

THIS view of Gypsy life tells its own tale, but a short description may not be out of place, as the colouring is absent.

The group in the foreground shows a *gájo* having his fortune told and his pocket picked. The *Romani-chei* holds the *gájo's* left hand in hers, and has her left hand raised impressively to fix his attention, while a *Romani chavo* chivv his *vast adré* the *dinelo gairo's* *putsi*.

¹ Siehe Paspatis a. a. O., S. 19-21.

² *Arlja* jedenfalls vom türk. *jerli*, Eingeborener, Landsmann. Vrgl. Popović S. 86.

³ *Tamar* vermutlich vom türk. *timar*, Lehengut das die Sultane den Spahis gegen die Verpflichtung verliehen, für je 3000 Aspren jährlichen Einkommens einen Reisigen zu stellen und auch selber in den Krieg zu ziehen. In unserem Falle bezieht sich das Wort *timar* vielleicht auf jene, die frei auf kaiserlichem Boden wohnen, etwa kaiserliche Untertanen.

⁴ In rumaenischer Sprache *lafe* = (Zigeuner-) Schaar, Horde, *lătes* = (wandernder) Zigeuner. — L. Şăineanu, *Dictionar românogerman*. Bucureşti, 1899, s. v.

The *chei* wears a red cloak or shawl, and so does the *romni* in the background, who is sitting on the ground nursing her *tikno*. Both women have a sort of brown headdress or hood, with long ends falling over the shoulders. The *chei dukkering* wears a light blue skirt, which has red lines by way of ornament at the lower edge. She has *nongo piros*. The *chavo* has a grey tunic and grey buskins, similar to those worn by the *Romani-chal* who is *beshing talé* the *ruk*.

In the rear, between the *chei* and *gájo*, is an older *Romani-chal*, wearing brown shoes, a leather-coloured coat, and a felt hat which has an upturned peak and resembles somewhat the hat worn by the cooper who is busy hammering a barrel further away.

The Gypsy youth under the tree wears a brown felt hat and a leather-coloured coat, with what looks like a skirt of dark blue. He has on his lap what may be a green stocking or long purse, the contents of which he is busy counting, with his back turned on the group. By his side he has a long stick lying across something which resembles a saddle, or perhaps a sack.

With the cooper in the background are two fishwives—one, who has her basket on her head, is trying to tempt the cooper to buy her wares, and the other, who is sitting with her basket on her knees, is bargaining with the householder whose house and stores are behind him. A fisherman dragging a large cod-fish is competing with them for the householder's custom.

To the left of the foreground a fisherman is emptying fish from his basket on to a heap on the ground, and another is lifting a well-filled basket over the vessel's side, while his mate attends to the sail. At the masthead is a small pennon with a red Maltese or Genevan cross. From another boat further from shore three men are busy paying out their nets. On the top of the hill at the harbour mouth there is a lighthouse or beacon tower, with the lantern hanging from a beam furnished with ladderlike cross-pieces. A mountain is just visible behind the beacon-hill.

The drawing was made about 1875, from a piece of tapestry believed to be Flemish of about 1650 to 1700, which was in the collection of Mr. John Holmes, of Methley, near Leeds, who most kindly made the sketch. In the Leeds Exhibition catalogue it was entered on page 180 as 'Flemish Tapestry representing Fish-dealing, Fortune-telling, and Pocket-picking, Temp. Wm. and Anne.'

VI.—SOME WORDS ON THE DIALECTS OF THE TRANSCAUCASIAN GYPSIES—BOŠÀ AND KARACÌ

By the late PROFESSOR K. P. PATKANOFF

[The appended translation of an original work on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies can hardly fail to be of interest to all students. It deals with a branch of the Gypsy question about which very little is known; and the fact that it was published with the sanction of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg is sufficient evidence of its value. It forms the second portion of a work¹ of which the first part is devoted to a history of the European Gypsies and some notes on their language. In his preface Professor Patkanoff emphasises the importance of collecting all available information as to the language and customs of Asiatic Gypsies. The language of all Gypsies is met with in a state of partial disintegration, but with the Asiatic Gypsies this is very markedly the case, and in a very short time their language will have entirely disappeared, and be replaced by the local languages: in this connection hardly anything has been done in comparison with similar investigations respecting the European branches of the race.

This should be, he points out, specially the work of Russian students and lovers of ethnography, since, within the boundaries of the empire there are various camps of Asiatic Gypsies with varying dialects; and something may in this way be rescued from the impending destruction. The course of events has shown that in two or three generations hardly a word of the language will survive. Professor Patkanoff says that he has devoted the first part of his work to a *résumé* of the existing information touching the European Gypsies, because there is no monograph in Russian on the subject, and the only information is contained in scattered articles in provincial newspapers, which are often difficult to obtain.

The second part consists of all the information that he was able to obtain about the Asiatic Gypsies; and Professor Patkanoff specially acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. E. G. Weidenbaum for the use of material which could only have been obtained with much labour. Professor Patkanoff points out that his work does not pretend to be complete on the subject, but is rather intended to show what still remains to be done in the matter.

The characters used to represent sound-values are those given by Professor Patkanoff himself in his work:—

<i>ch</i> = guttural <i>χ</i> .	<i>š</i> = <i>sh</i> .
<i>q</i> = <i>kh</i> , <i>k</i> with a breathing.	<i>ž</i> = <i>ts</i> .
<i>ph</i> = <i>p</i> with breathing.	<i>y</i> = <i>i</i> (there is not actually any corresponding sound in English, it is more like <i>ai</i>).
<i>ǵ</i> = <i>dj</i> .	
<i>č</i> = <i>ch</i> soft.	

D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING.]

ALL that has been said so far about the Gypsies, their language and customs, refers especially to the European Gypsies, whose language, manners, and life have been the subject of much investigation and description, and have produced a body of literature on this highly interesting race. It is only necessary to

¹ The title is: *Gypsies. Some Words on the Dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies: Bošà and Karacì*. By K. P. Patkanoff. Printed at the press of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1887.

Printed by decree of the Faculty of Oriental Languages.

V. VASILEFF, *Dean of Faculty*; K. HOLSTYNSKI, *Secretary*.

be acquainted with the labours of Pott and Miklosich and with the titles of the treatises which were at their disposal, to be fully convinced of the richness of this literature. Some more recent treatises on this subject show that the future of the Gypsies does not cease to interest administrators, scientists, and amateurs.

The Asiatic Gypsies are in quite a different position. The few travellers who have visited their settlements in Asia have confined themselves to a few phrases of the Gypsy camps met with; and an occasional English or American missionary has come across Gypsies and written down a dozen words of their language.

Of the treatises known to me, in Paspatis alone can one meet with a little more information on the words and form of the language of the Asiatic Gypsies of Turkey. This information is contained in his work *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*, Constantinople, 1870.

In addition to this, in a paper 'On the Materials for a Thorough Study of the Gypsies,' contained in vol. xviii. of the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, we read among other things the following:—

'A physician by profession, but an untiring worker in the field of philology, Michael Ivanovitch Kounavine was born in the year 1820. He was educated at first at home; and was then nominated to one of the departmental gymnasia, where he completed the full course and proceeded, unless we are mistaken, to the University of Moscow. Graduating in medicine, M. Kounavine proceeded abroad. Here he entered on the course which he has followed all the rest of his life, giving all his leisure moments to a thorough study of the Gypsies, one of the primitive races of the old world. Interested from his youth in historical science and in ethnography generally, M. Kounavine from scientific curiosity took the opportunity of residing in some Gypsy colonies of Germany and Austria. Conversation with the available representatives of Gypsy intelligence led him to the opinion that in the traditions of this race there must be preserved rich stores of historical and ethnographic data, in view of the productions of the racial imagination, in which there appeared not only many strange metaphors, but also unaccountable ceremonies, the meaning and reason of which were now lost. From this moment this idea incessantly occupied the mind of the young physician, and he decided to devote himself exclusively to the study of the Gypsy race. If we remember that this was in the year 1840, when there

were not even the aids to a knowledge of the Gypsy language such as we now have in the work of Miklosich, we can understand what labour and patience were required to overcome the difficulties which the resolve of M. Kounavine imposed upon him.

‘M. Kounavine began by establishing himself as physician in one of the Gypsy colonies of southern Germany. In the course of five years he mastered the dialect of this tribe to such an extent that not only could he express his needs clearly, but he further extended his knowledge to the point of critically investigating not only lexicographical, but also ethnographical points. Then for the first time comparing the roots of the Gypsy language with the roots of the ancient Sanskrit, which he studied parallelly, M. Kounavine recognised that in the Gypsy language there exists a mass of words not of Aryan, but of Aramaic, Semitic, and even of Mongolian origin. This discovery once made, many things became clear to the young investigator. Meeting with pure Zend roots even in the dialect of European Gypsies, M. Kounavine turned his attention to this point, and for an explanation of the influence he began to study the Gypsies of the East, who have preserved more traces of this last-named influence. First of all he visited the Gypsy tribes of Germany, Austria, southern France, Italy, England, and Spain. Having spent more than eight years in this, M. Kounavine began to study the Gypsies of Turkey. Following the geographical distribution of the Gypsy tribes, he first studied the Gypsies of the Balkan, then of Northern Africa and Asia Minor, and at length penetrated into Central Asia. In this manner he went through Armenia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Iran, and passed two years in studying the wandering tribes of Hindostan and the Deccan. Returning to Europe after twelve years’ wandering among the Gypsy camps of Asia, M. Kounavine, without arranging the materials already collected, set to work to study the Russian Gypsies, in which he spent about ten years. Through the Caucasus he followed the transition of the European Gypsies into the Gypsies of Kurdistan, and through the Ural borders into the Gypsies of Russian Central Asia and Tyrana (Turan): after this M. Kounavine again visited India and the ridges of the mountain group of Thian-Shan and the Himalayas. In this way M. Kounavine occupied in all about thirty-five years, in preparing for the fulfilment of his secret dream, reckoning in this the time occupied in his second journey in Hindostan. In the year 1876 M. Kounavine was obliged to bring to an end his wanderings among the Gypsy

camp of Europe, Asia, and Africa, his health being much affected by his wandering life, and to recruit after his many labours at the mineral springs of Old Russia, where I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of this eminent worker three years later.

‘In connection with the store of materials acquired by unceasing labour in the course of thirty-five years of wandering life among the different camps of Europe and Asia, it will not be without interest to glance at the chart, compiled by me, based on the information of the learned collector. In this rough chart the Gypsy camps are distinguished by various marks, both with reference to the classification of Kounavine and with reference to the quality and quantity ascribed to them in Kounavine’s treasury of materials. What labour it must have cost M. Kounavine to collect all this mass of material which I saw in his possession, may be conjectured when we figure to ourselves all the conditions of this collection of ethnographic material by one man, a thing almost without precedent in the annals of science.

‘In these vast travels through Europe, half Asia, and part of Africa, under very varying conditions, among half-wild and wandering tribes, exceedingly suspicious, he succeeded little by little in collecting this priceless information. Only by vast labour, striving to lull to sleep the Gypsy suspicion and the mistrust of the older among them, making use occasionally by bribes and gifts of the talkative *jekmasi* (the Gypsy witches), and thoroughly acquainting himself not only with every possible dialect, but with the customs and manners of different camps, and also by the aid of neophytes, was it possible to learn something of the secret ceremonies and traditions, fragments of hoary antiquity. Such is the material collected by M. Kounavine in the course of thirty-five years of wandering life; it is diverse in form and in matter, just as the race itself is diverse which created it. It forms a huge treasury of tales, traditions, sayings, songs ceremonial and religious, incantations, proverbs, and metaphors, collected in almost all Gypsy dialects. From it, by complete scientific inquiry and proper examination, it may be possible to gain much that is interesting, not only historically but also ethnographically and linguistically, the more so that, unless we are mistaken, almost all the material is preserved exactly in that tongue and dialect in which it was obtained.

‘Five years from that time M. Kounavine, having finished his wanderings, set to work in the quiet of a country life on the

correction of the mass of raw material, to the acquisition of which he had devoted almost all his life. Without consideration for the weakness of his health, this eminent toiler finished a few years later the translation of all his matter into the Russian language, and thereafter devoted himself to the philological side of the question, offering me the use of his material so far as my power and knowledge would permit. In view of the unique and original character of Kounavine's materials, and of their importance to ethnography, it would obviously be highly desirable that all the learned world should be acquainted with them, but so far it has not been fated that this should be accomplished. The vastness of the material at his disposal did not permit this eminent labourer to give to the world the work of his thirty-five years' wandering, vast in bulk and contents, but in actual fact only of interest to a few specialists. This is why our literature has not been enriched by such a philological treasury, the like of which does not exist in western European science. Parallely with the translation and correction of his material M. Kounavine commenced an original work on *The Language and Dialects of the Gypsies of Europe and Asia*, which he untiringly carried to an end, without regard to the incipient senile atrophy of the optic nerves. What would have been the importance of this work we do not know, but from what we were permitted to see, it may be said that it would have been to some extent capital, in as much as, besides the special question "Of the Language and Dialects of the Gypsies," there would have been touched upon in it one of the most important questions in comparative philology, the influence of one language on another, and the relation of primitive Aryan tongues to their second and third derived tongues.'

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'In the Government of Tiflis.—(1) In Tsalk there is a settlement of Armenian-speaking Gypsies. They came from Turkey together with Greeks and Armenians after the war of 1829. (2)

Tsigans or *Bošà* live in the villages of the sandjak of Atskvernisk (now the Atskhursk division of the district of Akhaltzykh), and profess the Armenian faith, but speak a corrupt Armenian dialect. They do not practise either agriculture or cattle-breeding, but get their living by small handicrafts.¹ Elsewhere in the same report it is said that in the district of Atskhursk there belong to the revenue the village of Mugaresh and two-thirds of the village of Zigilia, having 95 male native inhabitants and 54 *Bošà* or Gypsies. The return to the revenue depends upon the harvest, and in good years amounts to 200 "samar" of wheat. These words of the report show a discrepancy from what was said before about the occupation of the Gypsies: one would think that they do engage in agriculture; or, it may be, the return mentioned of 200 "samar" is received only from the native inhabitants.

'*In the Government of Bakin*.—In Miškursk, in the district of Kubin, in the village of Karats, there are some tribes of Gypsies who apparently migrated from Persia or from Shirwan, where also there are some Gypsies. Mr. Zeidlitz also makes mention of these Gypsies in his *List of Inhabited Places in the Government of Bakin*, adding that they are "Shias" and speak Tartar or sometimes "*Tatsky*" (? thieves' slang): in the official reports they are reckoned as Tartars. In the Tartar language Gypsies are called "*Karači*"; the common people jokingly turn this into *Karapči*, "thief, pickpocket."

'In the province of Shirwan there are two camps of Gypsies numbering 200 families, apparently descendants of those who are scattered over the greater part of Persia. It is not stated in what particular part of the province they reside, but Mr. Zeidlitz speaks of them as being in the district of Geökcäesk, by the river Geökcäe. They are reckoned at 200 tents, but the local inhabitants put the number as high as 500 tents.

'*In the Government of Elisabetpol*.—The financial report of 1832 showed that in Karabagh there were a few Gypsies (*Bošà*).

'*In the Government of Erivan*.—According to the report there are here a very few Gypsies, known as *Bošà*. They profess the Armenian religion. Shopen in his *Historical Account of the Province of Armenia* (page 538) speaks of them as follows: "In the province of Armenia there reside Gypsies, belonging apparently to the common stock of those who come from India; they are divided into Christians, called *Bošà*, and Mussulmans, of whom

¹ *A Survey of the Russian Empire*, iv. 214.

the Sunnis are called *Miūtriūp*, and the Shias are known by the name of *Karači*. They are scattered through the districts of Surmalinsk, Zangibarsk, and Nakhičevansk. (Berje, *Ethnographic Review of the Caucasus*, p. 9.)"

'From this cursory sketch it is plain that the Gypsies live only in certain districts, inhabited by Tartar and Armenian dwellers. In the district of the Georgian race they are not met with, if we can trust the information collected. There is not a single report of Gypsies being met with in the basin of the Rion or in the Georgian districts of the government of Tiflis. The Gypsies living in the district of Akhaltzykh dwell with the Armenians with whom they came from Turkey. How can this be explained? In view of the dispersion of the Gypsies over all the mainland of Europe and Western Asia this circumstance is noteworthy.

'It is impossible to state accurately the number of Gypsies in the Caucasus, but it is certainly insignificant. All the authors who speak of the Gypsies confine themselves to saying "few in number," "a few families," and so on.

'We get more exact, though somewhat obsolete details in Shopen (p. 539) relative to the number of Gypsies in the Armenian district (government of Erivan). These details relating to the years 1829-32 give the numbers as:—

		Families.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bošà	{ Armenian	46	101	94	195
	{ Tartar	4	9	8	17
Karači	.	43	112	105	217
Miūtriūp	.	14	39	50	89
		107	261	257	518

'Of these the Armenian *Bošà* live in Erivan, the Tartar *Bošà* in Nakichevan. Of the *Karači*, 14 families are nomad; the *Miūtriūp* are all nomad. The figures of Berje (*Ethnographic Review*, p. 9) correspond fairly closely with those of Shopen—about 600 souls.

'The village of Karats in the district of Kubin consists of 21 dwellings and 131 persons of both sexes (Zeidlitz, List, 99). The band in Geökcāe consists according to the Survey of 200, according to Zeidlitz of 500 tents. If we strike an average between these two calculations we get 350 tents, or allowing 5

to a tent, 1750 persons of both sexes. The summary of these figures gives us:—

In the government of Erivan	518
In the village of Karats	131
In the district of Geökcäe	1750
	2399

‘But in this there is not included the Gypsies of the other governments and districts of the Transcaucasus. However insignificant their number, it may be taken roughly as 600 of both sexes, and thus the total may be taken without exaggerating as 3000. According to the report of Mr. P. Mepisoff, head of the district of Artvin (in May 1880), there are in that district 100 families of Gypsies. They live in tents scattered about the villages. They only remain in this district in winter; during the summer they are in the district of Otlin. They speak Turkish, and it is not known if they have a language of their own. They are called *Posâ*. They make sieves, and also dance and sing. The children are carried on the back in leather bags or boxes.

‘*Appellation.*—The Caucasian Gypsies are known under many different names. Among the Turks, Georgians, and Armenians they are commonly called *Boşâ* or *Posâ*. The origin and meaning of this name are unknown.¹ The Gypsies of Atskhursk and Karabakh are known by the same name. According to Shopen, in the government of Erivan only the Christian Gypsies are called *Boşâ*. The Shia Gypsies of the district of Kubin are called *Karaîi*. It is possible that this name comes from the Tartar *Kara* = “black,” and has reference either to the swarthy colour of their skins, or perhaps has been given to the Gypsies in view of their morals. The Sunni Gypsies are called *Miütriüp*. Among the Armenians Gypsies are called *Mağagordz*, that is, sieve-makers, because some of them are specially occupied in this handicraft. Similar descriptive names for Gypsies are common; in some places they are called *Kiüçari*, that is, wanderers (in the dialect of Mazanderan).

‘We do not know either how the Caucasian Gypsies name themselves, nor if they have preserved any fragments of their proper language.² It was shown above that most of them profess

¹ Does it not mean simply ‘Half-breeds’ (*Posh*)?—D. F. DE L'H. R.

² They have preserved something, as will be shown later. The Christian Gypsies call themselves *lom*, almost the same as *rom* among European Gypsies. The *Karaîi* call themselves *dom*.

the Armenian faith, and speak Armenian. This shows that they came into the Transcaucasus from the Armenian provinces of Asia Minor. The Gypsies in other parts of the Transcaucasus speak Tartar.

Character and Mode of Life.—In this the Transcaucasian Gypsies do not apparently differ much from their kindred in other places or kingdoms. Agriculture is not one of their occupations. A few of the Gypsies in the government of Erivan are occupied in catching and taming snakes. So also, according to Shopen (852-3), the inhabitants of Chinakhaula, in the district of Garnibasarsk, belonging to the *Karađi* are engaged in catching snakes, which they carry hidden in the breasts of their shirts and the sleeves of their tunics; with these tame reptiles they wander through the villages, and exhibit them to the superstitious inhabitants, who firmly believe that these people have magical powers. Others call out snakes, which, deceived by a very naturally imitated hiss, come to them just like the tame ones spoken of before. Others keep bears, which they teach to dance. They tell fortunes by the lines of the face and of the hands, or they improvise to each person laudatory verses, in which the sun and the moon take only a secondary place. A few of them, more industrious, occupy themselves in making sieves and riddles. Some of them are hunters of beavers and otters; some go from house to house with tambourines, and, for a few coppers, dance riotously. This is especially a Gypsy occupation. They keep up their traditional occupations, though, according to Shopen's observations, their language seems to have entirely disappeared and they universally adopt the local tongues, Turkish and Armenian (*ibid.*, 907). A considerable number of dancers, singers, fortune-tellers, and the like form also a tribe of the Gypsies living near the river Geökcäe in the government of Bakin.

"A great haunt of theirs," says Zeidlitz, "is the bazaar in the village of Pota, where, in winter especially, the young Tartar folk collect from the environs for junketings. The greater part of this tribe get their living as male and female dancers and fortune-tellers; they live lewdly, and shelter thieves who have fled from their own villages. These Gypsies spread syphilis through the Tartar villages. No Tartar wedding could dispense with one of their musicians (*Khokkabaz*), singers (*čenie*), and dancing-men (*miūtriff*). In summer they go through all the villages, and at the time of the silkworm rearing they collect for themselves no

small amount of cocoons and silk" (*Register of the Government of Bakin*, 99). The compiler of the Survey writes of these Gypsies in a similar strain: they subsist by robbery, singing, and dancing, and live very poorly. Their habits, occupations, and appearance separate them from the other inhabitants. Among them the marriage of brother and sister, father and daughter is not considered unlawful. They are wild, and, more than their neighbours, have retained their savage character (iii. 34, 35).

'Of the habits and appearance of the Transcaucasian Gypsies we have no certain information beyond the record from the Survey, given above.

'It still remains for me to say a few words about the Gypsies in Turkey.

'My knowledge of the Turkish Gypsies is derived from the accounts of Dervish-beg of Ardagansk and Abbas-beg of Ardjask. They say that about Ardanuç live as many as forty families of separate people, called *Pošà*. They neither sow nor reap, and never follow any occupation; but neither do they thieve. Their sole employment consists in this, that their young men go to weddings, and dance in women's clothes. The women are not particularly depraved. They do not wander, but live scattered through the villages. It is probable that they speak Armenian. At least Abbas-beg said that a *Pošà* who wishes to pass himself off as a Khemšintz speaks Armenian. The Khemšintz are Armenian settlers in the mountains of Lazistan.'

These extracts are abridged from the manuscript of Mr. Weidenbaum.

Subsequently, thanks to the same Mr. Weidenbaum and others, we have had some opportunity for becoming better acquainted with the language of the Gypsies spoken of above; that is, with the dialect of the *Bošà* and *Karàti*.

A. Bošà

At the present time all material for a knowledge of the language of the *Bošà* which is at our disposal consists of four lists, to the consideration of which we will devote a few lines.

I.—O. N. Sargisyan, travelling in Armenia in 1846, wrote down eighty-nine words of the Gypsies of Erzerum, called by the local inhabitants *Bošà* or *Pošà*. These words are inserted in his work *Topography of Greater and Lesser Armenia*, published at Venice in the Armenian language in 1864, pp. 81-2.

Examining this list attentively, we find that only some of the words included are met with in the language of the European Gypsies. A limited collection of words, and an entire absence of texts and phrases does not give any definite idea of the dialect of the Armenian Gypsies. To this list O. Sargisyan adds a short description of the present condition of the Gypsies. We give this description in full: 'I am unable to say anything certain about the origin of the race of *Bošà*, of whom no small number live in the province of Karine (Erzerum); for they themselves know nothing certain about their own ancestors. They do not know from what race they are sprung, nor from what quarter they came here. The natives, forming a theory based on their outward resemblance, reckon them as of the same race with the *Ćingiane* (Turkish Gypsies), who in their opinion are a remnant of the Egyptians, who left their country at some unknown period. One part of them professes Christianity, the other has turned to the Moslem faith. While not entirely accepting the truth of the local opinion, it is impossible not to notice that the mode of life of the *Bošà* corresponds exactly with that of the Gypsies. Like them they live a wandering life through the villages, having no abiding dwelling. Engaged in similar handicrafts, they are content with little, and do not in any way consider the nickname *Pošà* as a disgrace. Only they are not so wild as the *Ćingiane*, and do not so carelessly carry out the religion professed by them. The Christian religion has softened them greatly; they love the churches, are reverent at service, and readily come to the sacraments. Many of them in pious works could not be distinguished from Armenians. Nevertheless, in one respect there is a division between them. These two races do not intermarry. No one would be willing to give his daughter in marriage to a *Bošà*, nor to take the daughter of a *Bošà* to his own house. Their language deserves attention through its antiquity. According to the belief of the *Bošà* they invented this language, and use it when they wish to convey to one another anything secret. Accordingly it is very poor and abounds in Armenian words. I believe that I shall be doing a service to lovers of knowledge if I give a few words in which it is impossible not to recognise the identity with Indo-European tongues.' Then follows a list of eighty-nine words. These words we include in the materials for learning the dialect of the Transcaucasian Gypsies for this reason, that the *Bošà* of the Transcaucasian government are a

part of the Erzerum Gypsies, and only crossed into the Transcaucasian province of Russia in 1829.

From the extracts given above one concludes that O. Sargisyan does not fully identify the *Boşà* with the Gypsies, though their kindredship is incontestable. One acquainted with the Mussulman Gypsies of the wild tribe of *Zapari*, who wander in the environs of Constantinople, considers these *Çingiane* as very savage in comparison with the *Boşà*, putting on record that the Christian Gypsies in Turkey are much milder in nature than their Mussulman kindred, and more inclined to a settled life (Paspatis, pp. 10-22).

II.—A list of a hundred words and thirteen phrases taken down by the teacher Joachim. In his letters to Mr. Weidenbaum, the collector gives the following characteristics of the *Boşà* of Tsalk, who migrated, as we have seen, from Armenia. 'The Gypsies of Tsalk, professing for ages past the Græco-Armenian religion, and frequently intermarrying with the Armenians,¹ have adopted the language, manners, and customs, and imitated them to such an extent that it is not possible, at first glance, to see any distinction between the two races. The inclination of the Gypsies to a settled life is markedly increasing, and those living in settled villages do not in any way differ from Armenians in appearance. They do not despise agriculture, though they only practise it casually; still they do practise it. Their chief occupations are selling sieves and begging. Among them also there are a large number of Turkish "*asik*" (singers and dancers), but they never tell fortunes like the European Gypsies, apparently owing to the influence of Christianity.

'In the character of the Armenian Gypsies there is much that is unattractive, but also there are many noble traits. It is repellant in the local Gypsies that they are very fond of light conversation, and of using very unbecoming expressions in order to show their wit. Puns and rhyming words are always at hand, and they treat any one to them without much thought. Among their praiseworthy points is that of not lending money at interest. To charge interest is with them a great crime, and they keep this custom sacred. In this they differ much from the Armenians

¹ We saw above that O. Sargisyan asserts positively that the Armenians of Erzerum refuse marriage with the local *Boşà*. It is possible that, with the migration into Russian territory, the mutual relations of the two races have become somewhat modified.

and Greeks of Tsalk, who take twenty or thirty per cent. or more from a debtor.

'In the physiognomy of the Gypsies there is nothing outwardly peculiar. To my superficial examination they exactly resemble the local Armenians (but not the Greeks). In their gait there is this characteristic, that they walk very upright; which in them tends to make them not stately, but ludicrous. The Gypsy women take a great part in their vagrant life; on their marriage they make a vow to their husbands to go with them from house to house to beg for them, and to feed them. The favourite domestic animals among the local Gypsies are *kateri* and *ešaki*.¹ The Gypsy women often pack their children into a "*qurğın*" (a double pack-saddle), and loading an "*ešak*" with this living burden, they wander (or, to speak more accurately, *prowl*) from village to village and from town to town.

'The Gypsies of this district call themselves *Lom* (but not *Rom* like the European). They have a language of their own which they seldom use, preferring to use Armenian (the dialect of Erzerum). The language of the *Loms*, which they are already forgetting, is exposed to such changes under the influence of Armenian, that, if I am not mistaken, most of their words have taken the grammatical forms of the Armenian language, only the roots of the words remaining.

'The Armenians say that the Gypsies came from Canaan, but the *Loms* have a different account of their origin. According to their belief one of the Apostles of Christ gave bread to his Master. Christ found many foreign substances in the bread, and, vexed at this, pulled a handful of hairs from His head and gave it to His disciple. The disciple received with surprise the hair of his Heavenly Teacher and knew not what to do. Then Christ stretched out His right hand and blessed the plucked out hairs. The disciple instantly understood how to make a sieve of the hair. This disciple was the first founder of the corporation of Gypsy sieve-makers or *Mağagordz* (in Armenian). From these mystical tales it is not possible to form any conclusion about the *Loms*. The word *Lom* has not at the present time the sense of husband or man, like *Rom*. Husband and man in the Lom language are *Mānus*.'

¹ ? Mules and donkeys. *Isak* is Russian for a mule; Turkish, *ēšek*; Armenian, *eš* (see Pictet, *Origines Indo-Européennes*, vol. i. 440). For *Kateri* (*ibid.*, 441). Or *Kateri* may mean 'dogs'; Lithuanian, *Kūrtis*; Slavonic, *črūtū* (Pictet, 472). This latter seems probable; the words would then mean *dogs* and *mules*.—D. F. DE L'H. R.

We will give also a few lines from another letter of Mr. Joachim.

‘To such a degree have the Gypsies of Tsalk become settled, that it is distasteful to them to be called Gypsies. I met with one Gypsy woman ninety years old, but she was broken down with paralysis, and could only give unintelligible replies. The existing Gypsies live in the provinces of Akhaltsikh, Alexandropol, and Karsk. Here the Gypsies live in the village of Damala to the number of fourteen houses. I have visited them, and they have often visited me.’

III.—In any consideration of this race of Gypsies it is necessary to refer to the Gypsies of Tokat, of whom Paspatis (p. 17) gives the following short account, taken from the letters of the Protestant pastor Michaelis to the pastor Hamlyn.

‘*Tokat, March 3, 1868.*—Here they are called *Poshá*, but they call themselves *Lom*. They are vagrants. They live here in winter, but for six months they prowl about the neighbouring villages and towns. They are to be met with here in every district.

‘Part of them profess Islam, the rest belong to the Armenian Church. They say that there are as many as one hundred and fifty families of them in Marshovan; there are many scattered ones in Bozook. Here their number is constantly varying. Two years ago one hundred of them died of an epidemic. They are very much oppressed and have no protection.

‘Nothing is known apparently of their origin. They say that Job taught their forefathers to make sieves and baskets. They also think that their ancestors came here from Persia.

‘At the present time there are one hundred and seventy of them in Tokat, ninety men and eighty women. In religion they all belong to the Armenian Church, and always call themselves Christians. They acknowledge all the seven sacraments, and so on.

‘Their priests are not Gypsies, but Armenians, solely because they are ignorant. They have almost completely lost their own language. Instead of a language they have a mixture of their own words with Turkish and Armenian.’

IV.—M. A. Xalatiants procured for me from Moscow a list of one hundred and fifty words and thirty-five short phrases in the dialect of the Gypsies of Alexandropol. The list was composed by K. Xalatiants and Agabeg-Amiryan at Alexandropol.

It is written in Armenian. A few remarks on the manners of these Gypsies are prefixed to the list.

'The Armenian *Bošà* in Shirak live in towns and villages, and are exclusively occupied in making sieves and baskets. The chief workers are the women, but the men provide them with materials. Their religion is Armeno-Gregorian with a mixture of certain superstitions. The *Bošà* do not occupy any public or confidential offices, nor ply any important trades or occupations, nor practise husbandry. Their one occupation is in such a stationary condition that old people say there has been no improvement in their method of manufacturing sieves and baskets during the last twenty or thirty years.

'The *Bošà* may be seen in the streets (but not in the bazaar) with bags and small wares exposed for sale. They carry a great cudgel in their hands as a protection against dogs. They often enter a house trying to sell their wares. If they do not succeed in selling their wares they beg alms, not money, but various articles: "Give me a smock for my daughter," or "Have you not something to cover my son's nakedness?" And having got what they want they go to another house.

'The street boys of Alexandropol have always been in the habit of hurling bad names at the Gypsies, jeering and throwing stones at them. It must be allowed that the Gypsies, by frequent thieving and constant begging, have lowered themselves in their eyes.

'However desirable it might be to know how and whence the language of the *Bošà* originated, in spite of all our questions we could get no answer. They only say, "Our language exists for this purpose, that others may not understand us"; but why this should be necessary they do not say.

'At any rate, the language of the *Bošà* is poor, and consists of three or four hundred words. They have no words for the names of implements, utensils, the heavenly bodies, or objects belonging to civilised life. And this is conceivable, because their mode of life does not bring them into contact with such things, which belong to the life of a somewhat civilised race.

'The *Bošà* have no idea of a decent mode of life, of manners, courtesy, or truth; they are not attracted by elevated thoughts, and therefore there is no word in their language for expressing these ideas. Their dialect is (if one may so express it) a stepson of the Armenian language.'

We have given all these opinions *in extenso*, so as to give, with the greatest possible fulness, the characteristics of the customs and mode of life of the *Bošà*. In the statements communicated there are found apparent contradictions, which must be referred to the fact that the information offered was collected, not in one year, nor in one place, but in many.

The contents of the communications set out above, and a comparison of the words contained in them, allows of our making the following deductions:—

1. The language of the *Bošà* is the present-day dialect of the Gypsies, but not of other peoples in outward appearance and manner of life identical with the Gypsies.

2. The vocabulary of the *Bošà* is half peculiar to their own dialect, half common to themselves and the European Gypsies.

3. It is not perceptible that the dialects of the European Gypsies have influenced the language of the *Bošà*.

4. Among the tribes of *Bošà* must be reckoned the bands of Gypsies who live in known localities of the Transcaucasus, and in Turkey in the districts of Erzerum and Tokat. More accurately to distinguish them from the settled bands is impossible, owing to the lack of material.

5. The manner of life and the occupations of the *Bošà* in the Transcaucasus and in Turkey are almost identical with those in the Balkan peninsula.

The *Bošà* call themselves *Lom*, which is the same as the *Rom* of the European Gypsies. A similar change of *l* for *r* among the Gypsies of Asia Minor is found in many other words, examples of which will be given below in the list.¹

I give forty-six phrases found in the lists of Messrs. Joachim and Xalatians:—

DIALECT OF THE *Bošà*

1. *Pány my lé, piem.* Give me water to drink.
2. *Malav lé, chathinq.* Give me bread to eat.
3. *Rósy lavavé.* Light the fire; bring fire.
4. *Lomìn thyláry janés?* Do you know the Gypsy tongue?
5. *Samél manus es.* Thou art a good man.

¹ In the transcription of words of the *Bošà* and *Karaçi* attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the following letters:—

ch = guttural *ch*, as in 'loch.'

q = *kh* = aspirated *k*, as in in(kh)orn.

ph = aspirated *p*, not *f*, as in li(ph)ook.

j = *dj*.

č = *ch* soft.

š = *sh*.

ž = *ts*.

y = *ñl*.

6. *Anlu tharé panghyn.* The hen has laid an egg.
7. *Ġiri thavé.* Make the bed ready.
8. *Muchalén nychul go-cólvi.* Blood comes from his mouth (a bad man).
9. *Athavov charvav lezir.* Thou takest money with the hand.
10. *Pápy's mulér é, vesérem ubrán gy-rovem-go.* My father is dead, I sit and wail over him.
11. *Ġilav karé, or lehim ġem, ġahri vygnem bidí.* Finish quickly, that I may go into the village and sell sieves.
12. *Yratuhings ġem lehi, nenem-ku lasy ġahri lehvavi vovorin.* To-day I am going into the village; I take ten sieves to the headman of the village.
13. *Hevavis(?) ġoġín valavin ġahény ġerav navež, baštan anež lasy panghri.* My sister went into the town yesterday evening, and brought back with her ten hens.
14. *Tethid valaduhíny ané meravtonžys vorov suzavtiqy.* Thy mother will bring to ours to-morrow big needles.
15. *Nevavin phaly samel manus é.* His brother is a good man.
16. *Baphis phané-ku, ġahrivavtiqy, šihrivavtiqy samlykaren lomavtiqy.* My father says that the Gypsies make sieves and baskets.
17. *Isi ġahénis mer ġoquin qelelu ġahénn é, chasenq piti.* To-morrow is the marriage of our daughter; we shall be merry.
18. *Yranther em samel chatheliq, ġenq luis chathenq.* I have cooked (boiled) a good meal; let us both go and eat.
19. *Hevanq ġahény thulin buhu ér, buhu gughvi ér.* In the past year the snow was great, the cold was strong.
20. *Luis ġahény meravís na em sudafežer, valaduhiny valis samlikarem-ku, yratuhiny kavim dugahid vygnim.* Two days I did not sleep; by night I work hairs, in the morning I go to you and sell them.
21. *Baphis pani pihez, nasuhežav.* My father drank the water; he fell ill.
22. *Tethis yratuhings ġiež teresul.* My mother went to church to-day.
23. *Yratuhings meravtonis qorin vahiz pavavis.* To-day our horse kicked me on the leg.
24. *Mozlachy buhu luth ku-lé.* The cow gives much milk.
25. *Hinnávys karavtožs kur ġež.* My son has gone to my neighbour's house.

26. *Sisis achvar é.* His head aches.
27. *Vesé lui malav chatheng.* Sit down; we two will eat bread.
28. *Paphis buku ku-chathé.* My father eats much.
29. *Ėdaruak manus kurežin akin.* Four men knocked down one.
30. *Lui anlu yranthé, chatheng.* Cook two eggs; let us eat.
31. *Pani ané, pihing.* Bring water; let us drink.
32. *Ku-čem thenav arav lielú.* I am going into the market to buy meal.
33. *Santhun lavavé, malav yrantheng.* Heat the stove; let us bake bread.
34. *Ak giuvav gré, chaseng.* (Sing ?) a song; let us rejoice.
35. *Malávy pani vahežéq.* Soak the bread in water.
36. *Lui mukaf niž, klar lihing.* Give two roubles; let us buy cheese.
37. *Lomavtiqys ku-čeng qeravén qerav, lehvavén lehvar.* We Gypsies go from town to town, from village to village.
38. *Charvav na tharem.* I have no money.
39. *Avé ženq meravtonžs kar.* Let us go to our house.
40. *Tharem ėdaruak phal.* I have four brothers.
41. *Thulin sisid.* Earth on thy head! (a curse, an invocation of death).
42. *Vahnúis.* If thou wert struck.
43. *Thulin besis.* Away with you into the earth.
44. *Samél na leges.* May you not see a good (day ?).
45. *Levaln uvaré.* May God keep.
46. *Levaln ġunakd uvaré.* May God keep thy children.

In none of the lists which have been supplied to me are there any texts of great length. From the forty-six examples given above one can only see that the Armenian *Bošd*, like the Spanish and most of the English Gypsies, have completely lost the inflexions of the Gypsy language, adopting those of Armenian.

In the examples there do not appear special terminations for distinguishing the genders in words.

Substantives end in all consonants. Of vowels at the end of words there are met with: *i, y* (often indifferently), *foqui, pani* and *pany, ġiri, koli, qady; u, ġriku, anlu, kihu; é, kaihre, maihlé.*

Adjectives also apparently end in all consonants. Of vowel endings are found: *u, buku, ġihu; i, ġughvi.*

From the phrases we can extract only the forms of the genitive, instrumental, and ablative cases singular, and of the nominative plural. The Armenian endings of these cases—*i*, occasionally *u*, *ov*, (instrumental), *ê*, and *tiq* (nom. plur.)—are sometimes added immediately to the stem of the word: *vorov*—*vorovin*, *joqi*—*joqin*; *lom*—*lomin*, *qelet*—*qeletu*; *gunak*—*gunakov*; *qerav*—*qeravên*; *chateliq*. But most often between the word and the ending is inserted the syllable *av*, in words with a vowel-ending *vav*: *teth*—*tethavi*, *gunak*—*gunakavi*, *pav*—*pavavi*, *qady*—*qadyvavi*; *chari*—*charvavi*, *lehi*—*lehvavi*, *ath*—*athavov*; *lehi*—*lehvavên*, *muh*—*muhavên* (really this should be *muhavên*). For the nominative plural: *qari*—*qarvavtiq*, *chari*—*charvavtiq*, *suz*—*suzavtiq*, *jahri*—*jahrivavtiq*, *shri*—*shrivavtiq*, *lom*—*lomavtiq*.

The numerals present some peculiarities. Among the *Bošà* there is not a separate name for each of the simple numerals from 1 to 10. There are only five, from which the names of the five remaining numerals are formed. In this respect they differ from the Gypsies of Europe and of some parts of Asia, among whom different names are given to all the numerals. The materials which I possess do not in many instances agree among themselves. In the list of Mr. Joachim the number 'three' is denoted by *lui agh*, that is, 2 + 1 (just as with the Egyptian Gypsies, *dui ek*), whilst in the lists of Messrs. Xalatians and Amiryan it is denoted by *edar*, which in the first list and in most dialects signifies 'four.' 'Five' in both lists is denoted by *ath*, *hath*, which properly signifies *the hand*, as one of the collectors notices. Thus we have:—

First List.	Second List.
1. <i>agh</i> .	<i>ak</i> .
2. <i>lui</i> .	<i>lui</i> .
3. <i>lui agh</i> .	<i>edar</i> .
4. <i>edar</i> , <i>tydar</i> .	<i>edar ak</i> .
5. <i>ath</i> .	<i>hath</i> .
6. <i>ath mu agh</i> .	<i>hath mu ak</i> (5 + 1).
7. <i>ath mu lui</i> .	<i>hath mu lui</i> (5 + 2).
8. <i>lui edar</i> (2 × 4).	<i>hath mu edar</i> (5 + 3).
9. <i>ath mu edar</i> (5 + 4).	<i>lasên ak my nath</i> (10 - 1).
10. <i>las</i> .	<i>las</i> .
100.	<i>pamniš</i> , <i>bawniš</i> .
1000.	<i>lasy bawniš</i> .

Of the pronouns we notice *meravis*, I; *tu*, thou; *ne*, genitive

nevavi, he; *meravtonž*, we, our, us. Often instead of the possessive pronoun the Armenian suffixes *s*, *d* are placed at the end of a word to express *my*, *thy*: *baphs*, my father; *tethid*, thy mother, and so on.

In the verbs also the forms are almost without exception Armenian.

The infinitive in *el*, *il*—for example, *phanel*, to say—has nothing in common with the ending *el* in the language of European Gypsies, where it forms the third person singular present indicative: *phenel*, he says.

The present tense ends in *em* (*im*), *es*, *é*, *eng*, —, *en*.

Often at the beginning or at the end of a word are placed the particles commonly used in New-Armenian, *ku*, *gu*, *go*, *gy* (depending on the local pronunciation), which are omitted in the subjunctive. The word *gem*, I go, is preserved, possibly in the old Gypsy form. See Paspatis, *djami*, I go.

I give some examples:—

PRESENT TENSE

1. *gem*, *tharem*, *piem*, *ku-čem*, *gu-rovem-go*, *samlikarem-ku*.

2. *es*, *ganes*, *leques*.

3. *é*, *ku-lé*, *phané-ku*, *ané*.

1. *chatheng*, *pihing*, *ku-čeng*, *ğeng*.

2. —

3. *samlikaren*.

The verb *anel*, to bring, has for its present *nenem-ku*.

PAST PERFECT

Sing. 3. *navež*, *anež*, *piež*, *ğiež*, *nasuhežav*.

Plur. 1. *lorežing*.

3. *kurežin*—beat, killed.

COMPOUND PAST

1. *veser em*, I sat down; *sudafežer em*, I slept.

3. *muler é*, he is dead.

The future is just like the present with the addition of the Armenian word *piti* or *bidi* (must); *chaseng pîti*, we shall rejoice; *vygnem bidi*, I shall buy (sell?).

IMPERATIVE

lé, give; *ğré*, sing; *avé*, come; *karé*; *ané*; *niž*; *vahéžéq*, smite.

This is all that I can get out of the phrases given.

In a comparison of words of the language of the *Bošà* with the dialects of European Gypsies it is necessary to notice the following peculiarities:—

1. *l* is met with instead of the *d* of other dialects:—

lui=*dui*, two; *lequel*=*dikkel*, to see.

las=*des*, ten; *lud*=*thud*, milk.

lé=*de*, give; *lehi*=*dih*, a village.

leval=*devel*, God.

2. *l* is met with in place of *r*:—

malav=*manro*, bread.

lom=*rom*, a Gypsy.

anlo=*anro*, an egg.

3. *v* is found in place of *b*:—

vališ=*bal*, hair.

vorov=*baro*, big.

var=*bar*, a stone.

včalel=*bičalel*, *bičavel*, to send.

vygnet=*biknel*, to sell.

vesel=*bešel*, to sit.

Of the words of Asiatic Gypsy given by Paspatis I have selected only those which throw a light on the words in my two lists. The remainder I have not inserted, not knowing to which of the two dialects, *Bošà* or *Karači*, to refer them.

The abbreviations in the glossary refer to the following:—

B.—*Bošà* words in List 1.

K.—*Karači* words in List 2.

P.A.—Asiatic Gypsy in Paspatis.

P.T.—Tokat Gypsy in Paspatis.

Bl.—Words from the dialect of the Beluchistan Gypsies.

Syr.—Words of Syrian Gypsies from the lists of Eli Smith, Seetzen, and Newbold.

Æg.—Words of Egyptian Gypsies from Newbold.

E.—European Gypsy words, not always, but chiefly from Miklosich.

LIST I

DIALECT OF THE BOŠÀ

1. *Leval*, 'God.' E. *devel*.
2. *baph*, *pap*, 'father.' P.A. *babo*.
3. *deth*, *tet*, *teth*, 'mother.' P.A. *dado*.

4. *phal*, 'brother.' E. *pral*, *pal*.
5. *goqi*, *göqi*, 'a child,' 'a young girl,' 'a sister.' P. *djaghi*;
Syr. *chagha*; E. *çai*; Bohemian, *çaika*.
6. *hinnav*, *innav*, 'a son,' 'a young man.'
7. *junak*, 'a child,' 'a daughter' (strictly, 'little').
8. *innavi junak*, 'grandson' (strictly, 'son of a child').
9. *baphavi phal*, 'uncle' ('father's brother').
10. *baphavi goqi*, 'aunt' (father's sister').
11. *dethavi goqi*, 'mother's sister.'
12. *junakavi mus*, 'son-in-law' ('daughter's husband').
13. *janrav*, 'a bride.'
14. *mus*, 'a husband,' 'a man.' Æg. *marash*; E. *muř*.
15. *qady*, 'a wife,' 'a woman.' Cp. E. *gadži*, 'a woman, non-Gypsy.'
16. *qadyvavi pap*, 'wife's father.'
17. *qadyvavi deth*, 'wife's mother.'
18. *kavrav*, 'a godfather.'
19. *junak*, 'godchild.' Same as No. 7.
20. *sarsi*, 'grandmother.'
21. *sulaf*, 'a woman in childbed,' also 'sleep' (No. 155).
22. *panin kařel*, 'a christening,' 'to christen,' literally, 'to plunge into water.'
23. *teresul*, *tresul*, 'a priest,' 'a deacon,' 'a church.'
truřul, 'a cross.' Paspatis (520) says that this word is unknown to Asiatic Gypsies.
24. *griku*, 'a bell-ringer.'
25. *janrvin gel*, 'the visit of the bridegroom to the bride,' literally, 'to go to the bride.'
26. *inn'vin gel*, 'to go to the bridegroom.'
27. *aklaravin nav* (?), 'the bride's best-man.'
28. *qelet*, 'a wedding.' E. *khelava*, 'to dance,' 'to rejoice.'
29. *qadyn na daré*, 'a bachelor,' literally, 'he has not a wife.'
30. *liadz*, 'married,' lit. 'taken'; from the verb *liel*, with modern Armenian suffix *adz*.
31. *janrav anel*, 'to take a bride.'
32. *junakov*, 'pregnant,' lit. 'with young.' Armenian ablative, or instrumental, third declension, in *oy*, *ov*.
33. *manus*, 'a man.' K. *manis*; Syr. *menes*; E. *manuř*.
34. *thavar*, 'a man,' 'a doctor.'
35. *lachus*, 'a peasant.' Cf. Paspatis, who derives this word (*lakho vlakho*) from *wallach*. It is evident that this etymology is not correct.

36. *byrav*, 'a Kurd.'
37. *aturba*, 'a Tartar.'
38. *lom*, pl. *lomavtiq*, 'a Gypsy.' E. *rom*.
39. *coilav*, 'a thief.' E. *čor*; *čoráva*, *čoláva*, 'to steal.'
40. *kičak*, 'the devil.'
41. *mus muladz*, 'a widow,' lit. 'one whose husband is dead.'
42. *gignav*, 'poor.'
43. *karavtiq*, 'neighbours'; from *kar*, 'a house.'
44. *sis*, *siz*, 'the head.'
45. *siuksium*, 'the neck.'
46. *hath*, *ath*, *at*, 'the hand.' Bl. *chatt*.
47. *par*, *bav*, 'the leg.' P.A. *bav*; Syr. *pavuss*, *paviss*.
48. *valis*, *vališ*, 'hair.' P.A. *val*; Bl. *val*; Syr. *wahl*, *val*; Æg. *bal*,
val; E. *bal*.
49. *lang*, *lang*, 'the nose.' K. *nank*, *nak*; Bl. *nak*; Syr. *nak*;
E. *nak*.
50. *muj*, *muih*, *muh*, 'mouth,' 'face.' P.A. *moh*; Syr. *muh*;
E. *mui*.
51. *var*, 'tooth.'
52. *muaviğ*, 'tooth.'
53. *konš*, *kōnj*, 'beard.' K. *kuš*; P.A. *gutch*; Syr. *kech*, *kutsch*.
54. *koli*, 'breasts.' E. *kolin*.
55. *per*, *bery*, 'belly,' 'heart.' E. *per*, *par*, *bor*.
56. *chalith*, 'lungs.'
57. *čolwadz*, 'bowels.' Cf. *čolol*.
58. *sischol*, 'a horn.' Cf. No. 143.
59. *aki*, *aqi*, 'eye.' P.A. *aki*; K. *aki*; Bl. *akki*; Syr. *aki*; E. *jakh*.
60. *tylar*, 'tongue.'
61. *manğ*, 'waist,' 'shape,' 'size.'
62. *nychul*, *nhul*, 'blood,' 'wound.'
63. *solaf*, *solav*, 'a dog.'
64. *gori*, 'a horse.' P.A. *agori*; K. *agura*, *agora*; Bl. *gura*; Syr.
garih.
65. *kurach*, 'a colt.' E. *khuro*, *kuro*.
66. *mozlach*, 'a cow.'
67. *vorov sis*, 'a bull,' lit. 'big head.' Must not be confused with
No. 87.
68. *chari*, 'an ass.' P.A. *kar*; Syr. *karr*; E. *kher*.
69. *ğunak chari*, 'young ass.'
70. *chathogh*, 'mouse,' lit. 'nibbler'; from *chathel*, 'to eat,' with
the Armenian suffix *ogh*.

71. *vorov madegar*, 'camel,' lit. 'great evil one.'
72. *anlapheli*, 'lion.'
73. *panghri*, *pantri*, *panghyn*, 'a hen.'
74. *grog*, 'a cock'; from *grel*, 'to screech.'
75. *gíf*, 'a flea,' 'a louse.' P.A. *djiv*; Syr. *dschu*; E. *djuv*.
76. *mančav*, 'fish.' P.A. *matcha*; K. *maču*; Bl. *mači*; Syr. *macha*; E. *mačo*.
77. *gihu*, *kihu*, *kiu*, 'wheat.' E. *giu*, *giv*.
78. *jav*, *čav*, 'barley.' P.A. *djav*, *djev*; Bl. *džau*; Syr. *dschóu*; E. *djov*.
79. *qyviš*, *kviš*, 'rice'; also the name of a well-known dish prepared from rice, *pilaff*.
80. *gas*, 'grass,' 'hay.' P.A. *ghas*; E. *khas*.
81. *phus*, 'straw.' P.A. *bus*; Syr. *biss*; E. *pus*, *bus*.
82. *angor*, 'walnut.' Syr. *kór*; E. *akhor*, *akor*.
83. *ansev*, 'an apple,' and fruit or vegetables generally. K. *seb*.
84. *piazav*, 'a bow.' P.A. *bevázi*, *pivaz*.
85. *kuriš*, 'garlic.'
86. *sis*, 'a fruit,' 'a berry.' See No. 44.
87. *vorov sis*, 'a cabbage,' lit. 'big fruit,' or 'big head.'
88. *gunak sis*, 'a beetroot,' lit. 'small fruit,' 'small head.'
89. *anchol*, 'pepper.'
90. *nol*, *nöl*, *möl*, 'salt.' K. *nul*; E. *lon*.
91. *kurghav*, *gughav*, 'honey.'
92. *naí*, 'gold.'
93. *pehri*, 'copper.'
94. *piš*, *pihiš*, *pehičq*, 'smoking tobacco,' lit. 'drink.' The Turks say, 'to drink tobacco.'
95. *lank kašič*, 'snuff,' lit. 'that which they sow in the nose.'
96. *dzamchkarič*, 'mastic for chewing.'
97. *karšavzu*, 'beans.'
98. *chatheliq*, *chatelu*, 'food'; from the verb *chathel*, 'to eat,' with an Armenian suffix.
99. *malaf*, *maluv*, 'bread.' P.T. *malav*; K. *minus*, *menav*; Syr. *mana*; Æg. *marey*; E. *maro*, *manro*.
100. *pani*, *pany*, 'water.' P.A. *bani*; Bl. *pani*; K. *pani*, *bani*; Syr. *pani*, *banik*; E. *pani*.
101. *klar*, *kylar*, 'cheese.' E. *keral*, *khiral*.
102. *garm*, 'soup.'
103. *anlu*, *anlo*, 'an egg.' P.T. *anu*; P.A. *ani*; Bl. *ana*; Syr. *ana*; Æg. *wani*; E. *anro*.

104. *qyl*, 'butter,' 'oil.' E. *khil*.
 105. *chalif*, *chaliv*, 'meat.'
 106. *araf*, *arav*, 'flour,' 'meal.' E. *varo*, *aro*.
 107. *nmor*, 'paste,' 'dough.' E. *chomer* (?).
 108. *mailhé*, *mahl*, 'wine.' E. *mol*.
 109. *achvar mailhé*, 'spirits,' lit. 'evil wine.'
 110. *tel*, 'vegetable oil.' K. *tehl*, 'oil.'
 111. *telaman*, 'a churn.'
 112. *luth*, *lud*, 'milk' Bl. *dud*; E. *thud*.
 113. *thulaf*, *thulave*, 'sour milk.'
 114. *queraf*, *gerav*, 'a town.' E. *kher*, 'a house,' pl. *khera*.
 115. *gar*, *kar*, 'a house.' K. *gar*; Bl. *ghar*; E. *kher*.
 116. *charvavi thenav*, 'a stall,' 'a stable,' lit. 'an ass shed.'
 117. *santhu*, 'a camp kitchen,' 'a cooking-place dug out.'
 118. *bar*, 'a door.'
 119. *nakav*, 'a hole in the roof to let the smoke out.'
 120. *vahičq*, 'an axe'; from the verb *vahel*, 'to strike.'
 121. *vahičq*, 'matches.'
 122. *katel*, 'soot.'
 123. *lehi*, 'a village.' K. *deh*; Syr. *dehe*.
 124. *thenav*, 'earth,' 'place'; also 'a market,' 'a street,' 'physic.'
 125. *vorov pany*, 'the sea.' E. *baro pani*.
 126. *var*, 'a stone.' E. *bar*.
 127. *roš*, 'fire.'
 128. *nahlav*, 'fire.'
 129. *lavaviš*, 'fire,' 'fuel'; from the verb *lavavel*, 'to heat.'
- See No. 211.
130. *gaihré*, *gahri*, 'a sieve,' 'a riddle.' K. *čani*; Bl. *čanri*.
 131. *šenli*, 'the sides of a sieve.'
 132. *šihri*, 'a basket.'
 133. *antazič*, 'a basket.'
 134. *chanth*, 'a sack.'
 135. *kaihré*, *kahr*, *kavr*, 'a stick,' 'a tree,' 'a coffin,' or anything that is made from wood. (? English Gypsy *kori*, 'a thorn.')
 136. *kšič*, 'soap.'
 137. *giri*, 'a coffin,' 'a bed.'
 138. *kongach*, 'a spoon.'
 139. *čuri*, 'a knife.' K. *čeri*; P.A. *tehuri*; E. *čuri*.
 140. *suz*, 'a needle.'
 141. *bandič*, 'a rope,' 'a cord'; from *banthel*, *bandel*, with Armenian suffix *ič*. See No. 232.

142. *phariš, pariš*, 'dress,' 'clothes'; from verb *pharel*, No. 187.
143. *sischol, sischul*, 'a hat.' Must not be confused with No. 58.
144. *barkaš, bargaš*, 'boots,' 'leather'; from *pav, bav*. See No. 47.
145. *gam*, 'leather.'
146. *nucht*, 'paper.'
147. *su*, 'cold.'
148. *thuli*, 'snow'; also 'earth,' 'dust.'
149. *muhaf*, 'a rouble.'
150. *charav*, 'money.'
151. *chlav*, 'sense,' 'intellect.'
152. *gam, kam*, 'a business,' 'a thing.' E. *kava, kova*.
153. *les*, 'life.'
154. *mulel*, 'death'; lit. 'to die.' E. *mulo*, 'dead,' 'a corpse.'
155. *sudaf*, 'sleep.'
156. *sol, söl*, 'a word,' 'hearing.' E. *scholl*, 'a whistle.'
157. *giuvav, kilav*, 'a song.' E. *gila*.
158. *chasachutén*, 'shame.'
159. *nasuhaf*, 'illness.'
160. *gahén*, 'time,' 'day'; *isi gahén*, 'to-day'; *valavin gahén*, 'yesterday evening'; *luis gahén*, 'two days'; *qeletu gahén*, 'marriage day'; *hevanq gahén*, 'last year.'
161. *valaduhin*, 'by night,' 'to-morrow.'
162. *gratuhings*, 'by day,' 'to-day.' E. *ratt*(?).
163. *valavin*, 'in the evening.'
164. *hosel*, 'here,' 'hither.'
165. *činyš*, 'half'; from verb *čín*, 'to cut.'
166. *buhu*, 'much.' Bl. *buhu*; P.A. *buhu*; E. *buhu*.
167. *gughvi*, 'cold.'
168. *achvar*, 'bad.'
169. *madegar*, 'unclean.'
170. *vorov*, 'big,' 'headman.' E. *baro*.
171. *gilav*, 'quick,' 'swift.'
172. *chilmilav*, 'anointed'(?).
173. *lakaz*, 'sour,' 'acid.'
174. *kihu, gihu*, 'well,' 'healthy.'
175. *leqšavat*, 'beautiful.'
176. *samél*, 'good.'
177. *ubra*, 'upon,' 'over.' P.A. *opre*; E. *upro, apro, pro*.
178. *hev*, 'this,' 'he.' P.A. *hui, he*.
179. *hevak*, 'hither,' 'here.'
180. *havi*, 'anew,' 'afresh,' 'again.'

181. *parpar*, 'opposite,' 'in face of.'
182. *geštuk*, 'how much,' 'how many.'
183. *bašan*, 'together.'
184. *thagotel*, 'to break,' 'to smash.'
185. *nklil*, *nklél*, 'to awake,' 'to go out.'
186. *dovjúhil*, 'to wash oneself.'
187. *pharel*, 'to be clothed.'
188. *lél*, 'to wear.'
189. *znel*, 'to cut out' (of garments).
190. *granthel*, 'to boil.'
191. *sudafel*, 'to sleep.'
192. *polofel*, 'to be silent'; *polofezir*, 'silence.'
193. *samlikarel*, 'to do'; from *samél* and *karel*.
194. *besel*, 'to enter.'
195. *ǵel*, 'to go'; *ǵem*, 'I go,' 'will go.' P.A. *djami*; Syr. *jámi*;
E. *djara*.
196. *legel*, 'to see.' E. *dikau*, *dikhel*.
197. *chathel*, 'to eat.' P.A. *khami*; E. *chava*.
198. *piel*, 'to drink.' E. *piau*, *piel*.
199. *vesel*, 'to sit.' E. *bešel*.
200. *uthluel*, 'to rise,' 'to stand up.' E. *ukliáva*.
201. *vahel*, 'to strike.' P.T. *vahem*, 'I beat.'
202. *suil*, 'to lie down,' 'to fall ill,' 'to sleep.' P.A. *sivami*;
E. *soviva*.
203. *lél*, 'to give'; *lé*, 'give.' E. *dáva*, *dé*.
204. *chasel*, 'to rejoice,' 'to laugh.' E. *asáva*.
205. *phanel*, *panel*, 'to speak,' 'to say.' E. *phenel*.
206. *nasuhil*, 'to fall ill.' E. *nasvalo*, 'ill.'
207. *ǵiel*, 'to go.' See *ǵel*, No. 195.
208. *kurel*, 'to strike.' E. *kurrl*.
209. *anel*, 'to bring,' 'to carry'; *nenem*, 'I bring,' 'will bring';
anež, 'he brought'; *ané*, 'bring.' P.A. *enémí*; E. *anáva*.
210. *liel*, *lihel*, 'to take,' 'to buy.' E. *lava*, 'to take'; aorist, *liom*.
211. *lavavel*, 'to heat,' 'to burn.' E. *alaváva* (Pasp. 132).
212. *avel*, 'to come'; *kavim*=*ku-avem*, 'I come,' 'will come.'
E. *aváva*.
213. *tharem*, *tarem*, *darem*, 'I have'; *na tharem*, 'I have not.'
214. *vygnel*, 'to sell.' P.A. *vuknim*; *biknava*.
215. *ǵrel*, 'to sing.'
216. *uǵarel*, 'to hug,' 'to hide,' 'to conceal.' E. *uǵaráva*.
217. *kašel*, 'to put in,' 'to immerse.'



218. *mulel*, 'to die.' E. *mulo*, 'dead.'
219. *rovel*, 'to weep,' 'to bellow'; *ku-rovem*, 'I weep,' 'will weep.'
P.T. *rovem*; E. *rováva*.
220. *ǵanel*, 'to know'; *ǵanes*, 'thou knowest.' P.A. *djanam*,
djanémi; E. *džánava*.
221. *karel*, 'to do,' 'to finish.' P.A. *leker*, *kerami*; E. *keráva*.
222. *solikarel*, 'to speak.' See No. 156, *sol*.
223. *synglel*, 'to know.'
224. *mangel*, 'to beg,' 'to wish.' K. *mangišda*, 'to desire';
E. *mangava*.
225. *ngalel*, 'to strip.' E. *nangalo*, 'naked.'
226. *nasuhel*, 'to run.' E. *našáva*.
227. *vělel*, 'to send.' E. *bičáva*.
228. *čučel*, 'to quarrel.'
229. *parparutvil*, 'to resist,' 'oppose.' See No. 181, *parpar*.
230. *markarel*, 'to kill.' E. *mar* + *karel*.
231. *manǵukil*, 'to remain,' 'to stay,' 'to be left.'
232. *banthel*, 'to lie,' 'to bind.' E. *phand*, *bandáva*.
233. *uǵlel*, 'to uncover,' 'to unloose.'
234. *lore*, 'to find,' 'to detect.'
235. *čolel*, 'to flow,' 'to leak.'
236. *činel*, 'to cut,' 'to sever.' P.A. *tchinémi*; E. *čindáva*.
237. *niz* (?), 'give.'
238. *navez* (from *avel*), 'he is gone.' See No. 212.

(To be continued.)

VII.—ISAAC HERON

WHEN Isaac Heron crosses the field to meet a visitor he is a picturesque figure in his flat-topped felt hat and green coat close-buttoned to the neck—an old friend, cut years ago from superfine cloth by the best Doncaster tailor; now a little less green than once it was, but by no means shabby; exactly the coat that an old Romani gentleman of taste would wear when he wishes to sit on the grass and contemplate his horses. And as he approaches, his dignified stoop, his decided mouth, the marvellous complex of wrinkles which covers his face, and, at last, the spirit of uncontrollable mischief that sparkles from his restless eyes, proclaim him one of the finest living specimens of a Gypsy of the old school.

The heartiness of his greeting, respectful as between equals,

and, when acquaintance has ripened, his reminiscences, expressed concisely and distinctly articulated, his humour and appreciation of humour, and his politely suspicious attitude towards strangers, confirm the first impression. And true Gypsy he is, as all may read who possess *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, written by Dr. Bath Smart—an old friend of Isaac's of whom he often speaks—and Mr. Crofton, where on page 254 they will find that his parents were Neabei Heron and Sinfi his wife, Borrow's instructress in deep Romani, and may besides study his compositions in the broken Romani tongue, 'The Three Words,' 'The Chase,' and 'Ike's Dog.' And if the visitor be one whose enthusiasm for the people of Little Egypt was inspired by George Borrow, he may spend an interesting hour chatting about his hero with one who knew him and describes him graphically as 'almost a giant—a very noble-looking gentleman, as it might be the Mayor of England.'

VIII.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

NO. 3. Ȯ GRŶNŌ MŪRŠ

Another of Matthew Wood's stories, and among those of which I gave Frank Groome translations for his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*. He had indeed before that read most of them in Romani from my original note-books, which I had brought with me to Edinburgh at his request. Groome was probably the only Englishman then living who could have read them at all, and it was pleasant to see him devouring tale after tale, pausing now and then to discuss some unfamiliar phrase, or breaking into admiration at some idiomatic turn, finding, as I myself did, 'All the charm of all the *kâlê* often flowering in a lonely word.' His mind dwelt much on the past; hardly one of my records of conversations but seemed to call up some reminiscence spoken or unspoken—'The Maces used to say that. You begin to hear that word about Lincoln and lose it about Suffolk. I think at one time of my life I must have camped in every county in England.' He spoke with meditative conviction, as one thinking aloud, of the unprofiting exchange he had made in surrendering the call of the road, the ramble, the rustling woods for the bonds of the house-dweller, the career of the scholar. 'The other was the only life that suited me, the only happy days I have known. I ought never to have come back; it was all a mistake.' Or sometimes an abrupt question showed where his thoughts were roving. 'How do your Woods say "I should scorn to do such a thing"?' '*Ŷinôs te kerav jasaves*.' 'Yes, yes, that's right; I first heard that way of putting it from Izzie, but of course in her broken English Romanes, not perfectly like that.'

But what seemed strange to myself—little of a folk-lorist then or now—was to find that Groome attached far less value to the ancient forms of speech in which these tales were delivered, than to the tales themselves for their own sake. I had not realised then, though as a lover of his *In Gipsy Tents* I should have done, how early and persistent had been his interest in folk-lore; and it was only a year or

two later, when on a sudden friendly impulse he lent me the whole of his early manuscripts, that I comprehended fully the learning and devotion which had gone to the perfecting of his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*. To this work I refer the reader for his notes and comments upon this particular story (pp. lxxvi-vii, 197, 254), where he compares it with Campbell of Islay's 'Battle of the Birds' and other Gypsy and Gentile versions. To these may be added a new variant which I came upon recently in Conor Maguire's 'Western Folk-Tales' contributed to *The New Ireland Review*. This story, called 'The Man with the Bags,' has the incidents of card-playing, going to find the castle, and being carried over the water by a swan, all of which are wanting in Campbell.

Re-reading this text shows me that I omitted from my list of phonetic symbols *d'* representing *d + h*, as in an Irishman's pronunciation of the word 'ladder.' This sound of course only occurs in a few loan-words.

Ō GRINŌ MŪRŠ

Odóí sas¹ vārdéyerō,² tārnō mūrš, lā būtiākerī. Akāva mūrš sas bārō kelimāyerō ī vērdēnsa. Kek šiš kūr'nas les; Kūr'las sār.

Odóí 'viās rāi kī yō, lā 'viās arē ī komōra. Rakerdē lav ō dūī kitanēs. 'Vesa te kelēs?' ō rāi puētās ī tārnē mūršéstē; ō vērdē sas 'prē misālī. 'Aua,' xoēō tārnō mūrš.

Akē kelēna ō dūt. Ō vārdéyerō kūrđās ī res. Ō rāi puētās ī Jakéstē: 'Savō 'kova lesa tū?' 'Kamós mē te lā filiśín okōi.' Sō heka³ pēndās ō lav, odóí sas filiśín.

Ak'ō rāi pēndās ī Jakéskī: 'Lesā vavēr keliben?' 'Aua,' xoēō Jak. Ok'ō dūt kelēna 'kanā, l'ō rāi kūrđās les. T'ā xoēē rāi: 'Mus te l'atēs mīrī

THE GREEN MAN

There was a mill, a young man, and his maid-servant. This man was a great player with the cards. No one could beat him; he beat all.

There came a gentleman to him, and he came into the room. The two had a word together. 'Wilt thou play?' asked the gentleman of the young man; the cards were on the table. 'Yes,' quoth the young man.

Lo! the twain were playing. The miller beat the gentleman. The gentleman asked Jack: 'What thing wilt thou have?' 'I would have a castle yonder.' As soon as he said the word, there was a castle.

The gentleman said to Jack: 'Wilt have another game?' 'Yes,' quoth Jack. Behold! the twain were playing, and the gentleman beat him. And

¹ *odóí sas*] for *sas*, Eng. 'there was.'

² *vārdéyerō*] W. Rom. has *vārdō* beside *vārō*, 'flour.' *Vārdéyerō* stands both for 'mill' and 'miller.' But in this tale we hear no more either of the mill or the maid-servant.

³ *heka*] = 'soon,' Eng. Gyp. *heka*. The same word occurs in the phrase *ker heka*, 'make haste.'

filisîn. Mîrō nav sî Ō Grînō
Mûrš te jivêla 'rē Kekéskō T'em.
T'ā tenî¹ l'atêsa mîrî filisîn
an² bērs lā divés, ênāva tō
šērō.'

Ō ěeros jula. Ak'ō Jak jaláp-
'skî³ te r'ōdêl 'kala⁴ mûršéskî top
î greskê dumō. G'as dūr dusta,
tū šil lā bārō iv. Ratî⁵ 'vās
top lestî. Bokālō sas-lō. Diktās
bita kēr poš ō drom, tū 'vās
talē from peskō grāi lā g'as k'ō
gudār. Kūrdās ō gudār.

Ak'î bita purî 'vela 'vrî kî yō.
P'uētās ō Jak vodréskî. 'Aua,'
xoč'î purî, 'av aré.' Beštās k'î
yog. I purî tū Jak rakeréna
kitanés. I purî kēdās xo Bén î
Jakéskî. Ō Jak puētās î puriātē
anî junēlas trušul mûrš lā leskō
nav sas Ō Grînō Mûrš te jivêla
aré Kekéskō T'em. 'Nā, xoč'î
purî, 'kekār šundóm mē ō nav.
Mukáva tut te junés aré 'sarla
te î ěelē teméskē kwärtáris
junéna.'

'Trē î 'sarla lilē xo Bén. I
purî g'as avrî lā kurdās î Jakés
avrî. I lađera sas avrî poš ō
gudār. I purî g'as opré, lā top
ō kēr, tū purdiās ō hornus.⁶

quoth the gentleman: 'Thou must find my castle. My name is The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. And if thou dost not find my castle in a year and a day, I will cut off thy head.'

Time passed. Behold Jack set off on horseback to seek for this man. He went far enough, and there was cold and deep snow. Night came upon him. He was hungry. He saw a little house near the road, and he got off his horse and went to the door. He knocked at the door.

Lo! a little old woman came out to him. Jack asked for a bed. 'Yes,' quoth the old woman, 'come in!' He sat down by the fire. The old woman and Jack talked together. The old woman got supper for Jack. Jack asked the old woman whether she knew about a man whose name was The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. 'No,' quoth the old woman, 'never have I heard the name. I will let thee know in the morning, if a quarter of the whole world know.'

In the morning they had breakfast. The old woman went out and called Jack. The ladder was out by the door. The old woman went up, and upon the house, and blew the horn.

¹ *tenî*] = 'unless,' lit. 'if not.'

² *an*] = *andrē*.

³ *jaláp'skî*] accent of rapid speech = *jála p'skî*.

⁴ *'kala*] obl. case of *'kara* used adjectivally.

⁵ *ratî*] loc. for nom. as in Eng. Gyp.

⁶ *hornus*] The true word *šij* is unknown to the W. Gypsies.

Akē gājē'vena. P'ūētās lendē anī junénas ō šundē—ī þurī þenēla nav leŷī—anī junénas trušul akáva mūrš. 'Leskō nav sī Ō Grīnō Mūrš te jivēla arē Kekēskō T'em.' 'Ná,' χοῆ gājē, kekār na šundē ō nav. Gilē peŷī gājē.

P'urdīās ī þurī pápalē. Ak'ī šeriklē 'vena 'kanā kī yōi. P'ūētās ī šeriklëndē anī junénas ō šundē 'jesavō¹ mūrš, Ō Grīnō Mūrš te jivēla arē Kekēskō T'em. Kekār na šundē ō nav. 'Jan tūmeŷī 'kanā.' Jana peŷī.

Ak'ī þurt rakerēla ī Jakēsa. 'Šī man þen dūredēr. Jā oddōi; þenēla yōi tukī dūredēr, þunēl yōi butedēr na sō þunáva mē. Lē mīrō grái, tū muk tīrō 'kái.' D'ás les butsa² tav, tū þukadās les te uērel ī butsa pārl ī greskē kandá. Ojā kedās ō Jak, tū g'as peskī.

'Vīās k'ō kēr, ojā sār þenēlas ī þurī leskī. I þurī kārdās ō Jak arē ō kēr. 'Čerrla,'³ χοῆ'ī þurī, 'mī þeniúkō grái dikóm les kek.'

Čidās ō grái arē ī stanya. I þurī kārdās ī Jakēs arē ō kēr te lel χobén. Ō dūi beštē talē kī misūli tū χonas. Kedē te

Lo! the people were coming. She asked them whether they knew or had heard—the old woman said the name to them—whether they knew about this man. 'His name is The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land.' 'No,' quoth the people, they had never heard the name. The people departed.

The old woman blew again. Lo! the birds were coming to her now. She asked the birds whether they knew or had heard of such a man, The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. They had never heard the name. 'Now begone!' They flew away.

The old woman talked with Jack. 'Further on I have a sister. Go there; she will speak further to thee, she knows more than I know. Take my horse, and leave thine here.' She gave him a ball of thread, and told him to throw the ball over the horse's ears. Jack did so, and he set off.

He came to the house, just as the old woman had told him. The old woman called Jack into the house. 'I have not seen my sister's horse for a long time,' quoth the old woman.

He put the horse in the stable. The old woman called Jack into the house to have supper. The two sat down at

¹ 'jesavō] sometimes 'jasavō (Eng. Gyp. *jafra*) = *ojā* (= *odidā*) + *savō*. Cp. 'kasavō or 'kesavō, from adv. stem *ak-*.

² *butsa*] a loan-word which I cannot refer to its source.

³ *čerrla*] sometimes *čirrla* = Lat. 'diu.' Pott, ii. 200.

χον. *Ō dūi rakerénas kitanés. Ō Jak pūctás i pūriátē anī junélas ō šundás ō nav. Ō Jak pēndás ō nav lakī—Ō Grīnō Mūrš te jivélas aré Kekéskō T'em. 'Ná, 'χοῖ i pūri, 'kekār na šundóm 'jesavō nav. Muk-áva tut te junés 'trē 'sarla. Gilé atré ō vodri.*¹

Rivéna pen aré 'sarla. Ō dūi 'vilé talé, lā χonas pegō χobén. Kedé. Ak'i pūri jala 'vri. K'ārdás i Jakés avri. Ak'i pūri jala opré i lad'era lā pūrdiás ō hornus.

Akē poš ō tem 'vela. 'Vilé ki yōi. P'uctás lendē anī junénas ō šundé trušul ō mūrš. I pūri pēndás leskō nav—Ō Grīnō Mūrš te jivélas an ō Kekéskō T'em. Ná, kekār na šundé ō nav. 'Jan tuméyi.

Ak'i pūri pūrdél ō hornus pápalé. Akē poš ō čeriklé aré ō tem 'vilé ki pūri. P'uctás lendē anī junénas ō šundé trušul 'jesavō mūrš. 'Leskō nav sī Ō Grīnō Mūrš te jivéla aré Kekéskō T'em.' Ná, kekār šundé ō nav. 'Jan tuméyi 'kaná.

'Av aré, Jak. Ši man pen, lū nī junél yōi, nái 'dói kek te junén. Lē mīrō grái, Jak, lū

the table and ate. They had done eating. The two talked together. Jack asked the old woman whether she knew or had heard the name. Jack said the name to her—The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. 'No,' quoth the old woman, 'never have I heard such a name. I will let thee know in the morning.' They went to their beds.

In the morning they dressed themselves. The two came down, and ate their breakfast. They had done. The old woman went out. She called Jack. The old woman went up the ladder and blew the horn.

Lo! half the world were coming. They came to her. She asked them whether they knew or had heard about the man. The old woman said his name—The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. No, they had never heard the name. 'Begone!'

The old woman blew the horn again. Lo! half the birds in the world came to the old woman. She asked them whether they knew or had heard of such a man. 'His name is The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land.' No, they had never heard the name. 'Begone now!'

'Come in, Jack. I have a sister, and if she know not, there are none who know. Ride my

¹ vodri] masc. loan-words in -os form the plural in unaccented -i.

muk mō peniākō grái akái. Lē butsa tuw tū uſer lā pārl ī greskē kandá. Ojđ kedás.

Ak'ō k'ō kēr 'kand. 'Kái sas ī puredér pen top ō guđdr. Dikēlas top ō Jak te 'velas. 'Okē mō peniākō grái: na dikóm les kek bárō ēeros. Ūi ō grái aré ī stanya, tū dē les xobén. T'ā 'jđ kedás ō Jak.

Ak'ī pūrī kárdás Jakés aré ō kēr te lel xobén. Ō dūi beštē talē kī misáli. Dūi xolē tū kedē. Ak'ō Jak rakerēla ī pūrīdāsa, tū pūētās anī junēlas trušul 'jesavē mūršēskō nav. 'Ná, xōč'ī pūrī, 'kekār na šundōmas¹ mē kek. Mukāva tut te junēs atrē 'sarla. Gilē aré vodri 'kand.

Ī pūrī 'čas opré ar'ī 'sarla, tū kela yog, tū ēiđās ī kekāvī 'prē yog, tū kárdás top ī Jakésti te 'vel talē ō pōdos. 'Jđ kedás. Kī misáli te lel peskō xobén. Kedē. Ō Jak l'ī pūrī, ō dūi bešēna k'ī yog. Ō Jak tuwyerēla peskī swedlla.

Ak'ō Jak rakerēla pūrīdāsa. Ī pūrī 'čas opré tū 'vri g'as. K'ārdás Jakés avri. Ak'ī pūrī jala 'prē lad'era tū pūrdiās ō hornus.

Akē sār ī gājē aré ō tem 'vilē kī yōi. P'ūētās lendē anī junē-

horse, Jack, and leave my sister's horse here. Take a ball of thread and throw it over the horse's ears.' He did so.

Now he was coming to the house. Here was the eldest sister at the door. She looked upon Jack as he came. 'There is my sister's horse: I have not seen him for a great while. Put the horse in the stable, and give him food.' And Jack did so.

The old woman called Jack into the house to have supper. The two sat down at the table. The two ate and had done. Jack talked with the old woman, and asked whether she knew the name of such a man. 'No,' quoth the old woman, 'I have never heard it. I will let thee know in the morning.' They went to their beds now.

In the morning the old woman got up, made a fire, put the kettle on the fire, and called Jack to come downstairs. He did so. He came to the table to have his breakfast. They had done. Jack and the old woman both sat by the fire. Jack was smoking his pipe.

Jack talked with the old woman. The old woman got up and went out. She called Jack. The old woman went up the ladder and blew the horn.

Lo! all the people in the world came to her. She asked

¹ *šundōmas*] example of the rare pluperfect.

nas truſul akáva mūrſ. *I þurī þendās ō nav leſī—Ō Grīnō Mūrſ te jivēlas arē Kekésķō T'em. Nā, kekār na ſundē ō nav. 'Jan tumēſi,' ȝoċ'i þurī. I gājē gilē peſſi.*

'*Aē bita, Jak! Kārāva mē sār ō ċeriklē kā sī arē ō tem.*' *Purdiās i þurī ō hornus pāpalē. Akē sār i ċeriklē 'vena kī yōi. P'uētās lendē anī junēnas 'kái sas 'jesavō mūrſ. 'Penāva mē lesķō nav, Ō Grīnō Mūrſ te jivēla arē Kekésķō T'em.' Sār i ċeriklē þendē 'Nā,' kekār na ſundē ō nav.*

Akī þurī 'vela talē tā g'as arē pō¹ līl te dikēl anī sas sār i ċeriklē odōi. L'atīās 'trē ō līl sas yeķ ċeriklō pālē.

Akī þurī jala avrē pāpalē top ō ķēr tā þurdiās ō hornus pāpalē. Ak'ō ċeriklō 'vela. Ēglos sas-lō. P'uētās leſtē: 'Kái ſanas, jukēl, 'jesavī bārī hwāila?' 'Šomas mē kī 'jesavō mūrſ. 'Viōm mē i Grīnē Mūrſēskē T'emēſtē te jivēlu arē Kekésķō T'em.' P'ukadās 'kái sas. 'Jā tukī. Okē sār te wontsāva mē te junā.'

'*Av arē, Jak, te þend tukī. Muk mō þeniākō grāi akāi, tā lē mīrō grāi; tā lē butsa tav, tā uſer lā pārl i gresķē kandā.*

them whether they knew about this man. The old woman said the name to them—The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land. No, they had never heard the name. 'Begone!' quoth the old woman. The people departed.

'Wait a little, Jack! I will call all the birds that are in the world.' The old woman blew the horn again. Lo! all the birds came to her. She asked them whether they knew where was such a man. 'I will tell you his name, The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land.' All the birds said 'No,' they had never heard the name.

The old woman came down and opened her book to see whether all the birds were there. She found in the book that there was one bird left.

The old woman went back upon the house and blew the horn again. Lo! the bird came. It was the eagle. She asked him: 'Dog! where wert thou such a great while?' 'I was with a certain man. I have come from the land of The Green Man Who Lives in No Man's Land.' He told where it was. 'Begone! That is all I want to know.'

'Come in, Jack, that I may tell thee. Leave my sister's horse here, and ride my horse; and take a ball of thread, and throw it over the horse's ears.'

¹ *pō*] short form of *pesko*.

Gŵs o Jak top i greskē dumō. T'ā xoē¹ i puri i Jakéskī: 'Mā ōlā ēi! me jal¹ o grāi. Dikésa tū, Jak, bārō pūlos, top o pūlos trin pārnē ēeriklē; av talē tū gurā tut poš o pūlos. Dikésa akāla trin pārnē ēeriklē te 'vena pošē tuti, tū rizerén leŷē porrá talē, tū jana te tōvén pen. Dūi jana arē o pūlos te tōvén pen, t'i palanī 'ēla tū riž'rēla i porrá talē. O trin tōvéna pen. Aē opré tala, Jak, tū jā tū lē o porrá, tū riger len. 'Vela yōi kī tū tū wonsēla lakē porrá. Mā tū dē len. P'en lakī te rigerēl tut pārdāl o pūlos kī lakē dadéskī filišín.'

Ojá kedās. G'as o Jak tū l'atīās o pūlos 'dōi 'kai penēlas i puri. Kana i palanī ēeriklē g'as 'rē o pūlos, ēōrdās o Jak lakē porrá.

'Riger tū man pārdāl o pūlos kī tīrē dadéskī filišín!' 'Ná,' xoē yōi, 'nái man kek dad.' 'Aua,' xoē o Jak. 'Ná,' xoē pápalé.

Akē yōi rovēla: wonsēla leskē² porrá. 'Riger tū man pārdāl o pūlos; lesa tū tī porrá.' 'Av top mīrō dumō. Mā tū pen mī dadéskī, kana jesa 'prē kī filišín, te mē rigerdóm tut pārdāl o pūlos.'

Jack got on horseback. And quoth the old woman to Jack: 'Touch nothing! let the horse go. Jack, thou'lt see a great lake, on the lake three white birds; get down and hide thee by the lake. Thou'lt see these three white birds come nigh thee, and shake their feathers down, and go to bathe. Two will go into the lake to bathe, and the last will stay and shake her feathers down. The three will bathe. Get up then, Jack; go, take her feathers and keep them. She will come to thee and want her feathers. Give them not. Tell her to carry thee over the lake to her father's castle.'

He did so. Jack went and found the lake where the old woman had said. When the last bird went into the lake, Jack stole her feathers.

'Carry me over the lake to thy father's castle!' 'No,' quoth she, 'I have no father.' 'Yes,' quoth Jack. 'No,' quoth she again.

Lo! she wept: she wanted the feathers from him. 'Carry me over the lake; thou shalt have thy feathers.' 'Get on my back. Tell thou not my father, when thou goest up to the castle, that I carried thee over the lake.'

¹ *me jal*] imp. 3rd per. sing. where *me*=*mek*, i.e. *muk*. Cp. Pott, i. 358; Pasp., p. 88 *passim*; Gilliat-Smith, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 138. There is little or no distinction of meaning between the forms *me jal*, *me jan*, and *te jal*, *te jan*.

² *leskē*] looks like a mistake for *lakē*, but isn't. She wanted the feathers that were now his because he had stolen them.

*Rigerdās les pārdāl, tā kana
rigerdās les pārdāl, ō pārnō
ēriklō 'vūs tārnī rānī.*

*Ak'ō Jak jala oprē kī filišin.
Gās k'ū¹ gudār. Kūrdās ō
gudār. Ak'ō rāi 'vela 'vrī.
'L'atīān ō kēr, Jak? Yek' o
mīrī čai² sas tusa.' 'Mā
raker, dikōm kek olendē.' 'Av
arē.' Diās les xobén. Ō rāi
pēndās leskī te vūžerēl ī stanya.
'Te ne kesa tū akavā, tō šērō 'vela
čindilō.'*

*Ak'ō Jak tārdiās peskī čoxa
te kel ī būti. Učērdās yek' šuvla
pārdī avrī, tā sas trin 'velas 'rē.
Gas ō Jak kīnō. Učērdās ī
koya³ talē. Učērdās talē, tā
beštās talē. K'īnō.*

*Kana sig ak'ī rānī 'vela, ī
tārnēdēr rānī. Andiās xobén.
'Aē oprē, Jak, tā xā.' Ak'ō Jak
'čela 'prē tā xola. Kana xolas,
ī stanya sas vūžerēl, rigerdō sār
avrī. 'Mā tū pēn, Jak, mī
dadēs kī te šomas mē akāi tusa.'*

*Ak'ō pūrō rāi 'vela avrī tā
jala arē ī stanya. 'Jund mē,
Jak, te mīrī čai sas tusa.' 'Nā
dikōm mē kek tī čai. Nāi čī na*

She carried him over, and when
she had carried him over, the
white bird turned into a young
lady.

Jack went up to the castle.
He went to the door. He
knocked at the door. Lo! the
master came out. 'Hast found
the house, Jack? Then one of
my daughters has been with
thee.' 'No more of thy talk,
I have seen none of them.'
'Come in.' He gave him food.
The master told him to clean
out the stable. 'An thou do
not, thy head shall be cut off.'

Jack pulled off his coat to
do the work. For one spadeful
that he threw out, three came
in. He grew tired. He threw
the thing down. He threw it
down, and sat down. He was
tired.

Presently the lady came, the
youngest lady. She brought
food. 'Get up, Jack, and eat.'
Jack got up and ate. While
he was eating, the stable was
cleansed—all the dirt was carried
out. 'Jack, tell thou not my
father that I was here with
thee.'

The old master came out
and went into the stable. 'I
know, Jack, that my daughter
was with thee.' 'I have not

¹ ū] (John Roberts's *u*). A pronunciation of the definite article at least as usual as *ō*, though I generally write the latter.

² *yek' o mīrī čai*] Welsh idiom. Cp. Welsh *un o fy merched* used in place of the true Romani construction *yek' mīrē čaiēndē*, lit. 'one from my daughters.'

³ *koya*] feminine of *kora*, 'thing,' agreeing in gender with *šuvla*.

jund. Jund mē ēi oprē tī ēai.
Giās peskī rāi.

*Avrī 'viās ō Jak. Kana sig
 ak'ō rāi avrī pāpalē, tā kārdās ī
 Jakēs. 'Ši man rukā. Wontsāva
 tut te ēinēs len mankē¹ poš
 divēs.' Ak'ō dūi 'kanā jana, te
 sikavēl ī rukā, tā bārē rukā sas.
 'Okek'ōn,² Jak! dikēsa len?'
 'Aua,' xoš'ō Jak.*

*Ō Jak tārdēl ī ēoxa. Per-
 radās³ trin rukā. 'Te vos kērē
 mērōs odōi: mērāva mē akāi.'
 Beštās talē. Rōvēlas. Ī tārnī
 rānī v'as kī yō peskē xobēnēsa.
 'Aē oprē, Jak, tā lē tō xobēn.'
 Ō Jak xola. Kedās te xol.*

*'Aē oprē, Jak.' 'Čas oprē, tā
 dikās ō rukā sār talē. 'Mā tū
 pen, Jak, mē dadēskī, te šomas
 mē tusa. Mō dad pūēlā tutē
 anī šomas mē tusa. P'en tūya⁴
 "Nā." Ī rānī j'as⁵ peskī.*

*Ak'ō purō rāi 'vela 'kund.
 'Aua, Jak, junāva mē te yek' o
 mīrī ēaiā sas tusa.' 'Mā pen
 xoχiben: jund mē ēi trušul tī
 ēaiā, kek olēndē.' Ō dūi 'vena*

seen thy daughter. Nought do
 I know. I know nought of
 thy daughter.' The master went
 away.

Out came Jack. Presently
 the master was out again, and
 he called Jack. 'I have trees
 that I want thee to cut down
 before midday.' Now the two
 went that he might point out
 the trees, and great trees they
 were. 'There they are, Jack!
 dost see them?' 'Yes,' quoth
 Jack.

Jack pulled off his coat. He
 felled three trees. 'If I were at
 home I would die there: I will
 die here.' He sat down. He
 wept. The young lady came to
 him with his dinner. 'Rise up,
 Jack, and get thy dinner.' Jack
 ate. He had done eating.

'Rise up, Jack.' He arose,
 and he saw the trees all down.
 'Jack, do not tell my father that
 I was with thee. My father
 will ask thee whether I was with
 thee. But say thou "No." The
 lady went away.

The old master came now.
 'Yes, Jack, I know that one of
 my daughters was with thee.'
 'Do not tell a lie: I know
 nought about thy daughters,

¹ *mankē*] 'before' in point of time = Cont. Rom. *mai angle*.

² *okek'ōn*] 'There they are!' Parallel forms are *okek'ōi*, 'there she is,' *okek'ōr*, 'there he is.' Cp. also *akek'ōr*, 'here he is,' *akek'ōi*, 'here she is,' *akek'ōn*, 'here they are.'

³ *perradās*] from *perradva*, 'I fell,' causative of *perrāva*, 'I fall.'

⁴ *tūya*] = 'and thou,' 'thou,' 'thou thyself.' The emphatic forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns—*maia*, pl. *amdia*; *tūya*, pl. *tumdia*—are commonly used in W. as in Gk. Rom.

⁵ *j'as*] so in my note-book for more usual *gāde*.

pālē k'i filišin. Xoč'ō rai:
'Wontsāva mē grānza kelt,
oprē 'kōi.' *T'ā šī Jakés¹ tī²*
kel akāia grānza, tā šī les te lel
yek porr from *sār čeriklē te kel*
*ī tača.*³

Kedās ō tan oprē: sār ī tača
wontsēlas. Tildās yek bita lolō
čeriklō; 'yas yek porr lestē, tā
muktās les te jal peskī. Dikās
top ō tan. Beštās talē, tā nāi
jūnēlas les⁴ sō te kel kek.

Talē bešēlas. Ak'i rānī 'vela
mutārimaŋ'riāsa. 'Ač oprē,
Jak, tā lē tī mut'rimāyerī.'
'Čas ō Jak oprē te xol les.
Kedās. 'Tō kova sī kedō! P'en tū
mī dadēski, Jak, te na keserēsa⁵
kek leski, na peskē čaiējī.'

'Kalikō, pēndās ī rānī ī
Jakēski—'Dōi sī mūra arē ō
pālos, tā mīa šī-lō arē. T'ā 'dōi
'vela čeriklō, tā ločēla⁶ yek yārō.
'Dovā pēnēlas mō dud tukī, Jak,
kalikō. P'en tūya te jesa te les
les. Jā tū k'ō pānī; 'dōi 'vava
mē.'

Kalikō v'as. Ō purō rai
pūkādās ī Jakēski sō sas les te

none of them.' The two came
back to the castle. 'I want a
barn built up there,' quoth the
master. And it is for Jack to
build this barn, and it is for him
to take one feather from every
bird to make the thatch.

He built the place up: all
the thatch was lacking. He
caught one little red bird; he
took one feather from it, and
let the little red bird go. He
looked upon the place. He
sat down, and knew not what
to do.

There he sat. The lady came
with his tea. 'Get up, Jack,
and have thy tea.' Jack got up
to eat it. He had done. 'Thy
task is finished. Tell my father,
Jack, that thou carest not for
him, nor for his daughters.'

'To-morrow,' said the lady
to Jack—'There is a mountain
in the lake; it is a mile in.
And a bird will come there, and
will lay one egg. To-morrow
my father should tell thee that,
Jack. And thou, say that thou
wilt go to get it. Go thou to
the water; there will I be.'

To-morrow came. The old
master told Jack what there was

¹ *Jakés*] here the abbreviated form of the prepositional = *Jakēsti*—'and it is to Jack that he makes this barn.'

² *tī*] not uncommon variant form of *te*, though I usually write the latter.

³ *tača*] Eng. 'thatch.'

⁴ *les*] = *leski*.

⁵ *keserēsa*] *keser*, a word peculiar to Eng. and W. Rom., comes from Eng. 'care' + suffix *-sar*.

⁶ *ločēla*] 'to lay (an egg).' In some Continental dialects 'to bear.' Pott, i. 429, No. 66; Mik., viii. 8. Unrecorded in Eng. Rom., though Frank Groome once told me he had heard it from Britty Lee.

kel. 'Pūi!' ¹ *χοῖ'ō Jak, 'nái*
'dovd ēi.' *Ak'ō Jak k'ō pānī*
'kand. *Beštās talē. Kuna sig*
ak'ī rānī 'vela χobenésa. 'Lē
tō χobén, Jak.' Kēdās te χol.
'*Tārdē tī ēiόχ. 'P'en tū, Jak,*
kamésas tū ō ēiόχ te 'vel bērō.
'*Já sas-lō.*

Ak'ō dūi jana 'rē ō bērō.
Tā 'vulē k'ī mūra. Šiš jala
oprē kek. 'P'en mīrē vaṇuštēyī²
te 'ven lađ'era te jas oprē.' Sō
keka pēndās ō Jak ō lav, okē sas
ī lađ'era te jal oprē. T'ī rānī
pēndās leskī: 'Kuna tū jesa
oprē ō pōdos, lē len pala vaver-
kēndī.³ Mā bīster yek.' Muktās
yek, tā pagerdās yek ō rānīākē
vaṇuštē.⁴ Līlē ū yārō.

Ak'ō dūi jana pālē. 'P'en
mī dadēskī, Jak, kana jesa pālē
kī filiśín—pūšēla mō dad tutē
ānī somas mē tusa—pēn tū:
"Nā, ēi na jund mē trušul tū
na tī ēaiđ."

Ō pūrō rāi pēndās: 'Yek ō
mīrī ēaiđ sas tusa.' 'Nā, χοῖ'ō
Jak, 'dikóm len mē kek.' 'Sī
man bīta bītī tukī arē 'sarla.'
'Nái keseráva mē sō šī-lī.'

for him to do. 'Pooh!' quoth Jack, 'that is nought.' Now Jack went to the water. He sat down. Presently the lady came with breakfast. 'Have thy breakfast, Jack.' He had done eating. 'Pull off thy shoe, Jack. Wish that the shoe be turned into a boat.' So it was.

Lo! the twain embarked. And they came to the mountain. He could not climb up. 'Wish my fingers to be turned into a ladder that thou mayst go up.' As soon as Jack said the word, there was the ladder to go up. And the lady said to him: 'When thou goest up the steps, take them one after another. Do not forget one.' He left one, and he broke one of the lady's fingers. They got the egg.

Lo! the twain returned. 'Say to my father, Jack, when thou goest back to the castle—my father will ask thee whether I was with thee—say thou: "No, I know nought about thee nor about thy daughters."'

The old master said: 'One of my daughters was with thee.' 'No,' quoth Jack, 'I have not seen them.' 'I have a little work for thee in the morning.' 'I care not what it is.'

¹ *p'ūi*] here merely 'pooh!' but generally used more as an expression of disgust than of contempt.

² *vaṇuštēyī*] vulgar Eng. construction. Cp. *Ī Rāikanī Mūra*, p. 150, note 5.

³ *raverekēndī*] recipr. pronoun, prep. pl. The nom. does not exist, but the acc. *raverken*, gen. *raverekýō*, dat. *raverekýi*, instr. *raverekēnsa*, abl. *raverekēndē* are constantly heard. Cp. Pott, i. 279.

⁴ *vaṇuštē*] cp. note 2, p. 266.

Ō Jak sas avrt, t'i tārni rāni
 l'atīās les tū rakerdās lesa. 'Jak,
 sī man dūi pēnyd, tū kalikō
 mō dad ēivēla 'men trin pārnē
 ēeriklē. Prastāsa 'mē trin pēnyd
 pārl ō kēr trin ēēros. Tā mō
 dad 'vela tusa, tū pēnēla tukī te
 les ī sēmī yek trin ēēros. Kana
 'vasa 'mē pārl ō kēr, lē tū ī
 fūrstī yek, Jak, tū kana 'vasa
 pālē, lē middlemost, tū kana
 'vasa pālē pāpālē, lē ī dūrtanī
 yek.'

'Vīds ī 'sarla. P'urō rāi tū
 pūri rānī tū Jak sas kitanēs
 avrt alān ō hudār. Ak'ī trin
 ēeriklē 'vena pārl ō kēr. 'Lava
 mē ī fūrstī yek.' Akē 'vena pālē.
 'Lava mē ī middlemost yek.'
 Akē 'vena pālē pāpālē. 'Savī
 sī 'kanā?' Ō Jak pēndās ī
 reskī: 'I dūrtanī yek lava mē.'
 'Aua, Jak, 'yan lū; tī romnī
 'vela.'

Romerde 'kanā. Mūīds ō
 pūro rāi t'ī pūri rānī; tū Jak
 sī arē filišīn 'kanā.

Okē sār 'kanā.

Jack was out, and the young
 lady found him and spoke with
 him. 'Jack, I have two sisters,
 and to-morrow my father will
 turn us into three white birds.
 We three sisters will fly over
 the house thrice. And my
 father will be with thee, and
 will tell thee to take the same
 one thrice. When we come
 over the house, Jack, take thou
 the first one, and when we come
 back, take the middlemost, and
 when we come back again, take
 the last one.'

Morning came. The old
 master and the old mistress and
 Jack were out together before
 the door. Lo! the three birds
 came over the house. 'I will
 have the first one.' Lo! they
 were coming back. 'I will have
 the middlemost.' Lo! they were
 coming back again. 'Which is
 it now?' Jack said to the
 master: 'The last one will I
 have.' 'Yes, Jack, thou hast
 got her; she shall be thy wife.'

Now they were married. The
 old master died, and the old
 mistress; and Jack is in the
 castle now.

That is all now.

IX.—LES ROMANICHELS À LA CHAMBRE

Par CHARLES BONNIER

LE 29 Octobre 1907, date à jamais mémorable dans l'histoire du
 Parlementarisme français, les Romanichels ou Gypsies ont
 fait leur entrée à la chambre des députés, sinon en personne, au

moins par procureur. Au milieu de la discussion du Budget, un député, Monsieur Fernand David, est venu entretenir ses collègues des déprédations de ces hordes, sans foi, ni loi, ni pays. Il a montré que le gouvernement de la République était impuissant à se débarrasser de ces gens qui, lorsqu'on les chasse par la porte, s'obstinent à rentrer par la fenêtre.

Lorsqu'un révolutionnaire étranger vient en France, le gouvernement le fait reconduire à la frontière; cela s'est vu plus d'une fois. 'Mais que voulez-vous faire, s'écrie l'interpellateur, contre ces nomades? En effet on ne peut expulser un nomade étranger, parce qu'il n'a pas d'état civil. Sa préoccupation, lorsqu'il pénètre sur le territoire de la République, est de se défaire de toutes ses pièces d'identité. Quand il est entre les mains du juge d'instruction, si on lui demande où sont nés ses enfants, où il s'est marié, où il a enterré ses morts, il répond qu'il a enterré les siens sur la voie publique ou quelque part dans un champ; que ses enfants sont nés dans sa roulotte, dans une localité dont il a oublié le nom; et qu'en ce qui concerne son pays, il est venu au monde quelque part, lui aussi, dans un lieu inconnu dont il n'a pas conservé le souvenir.' Que voulez-vous que fasse un pauvre juge d'instruction devant ces 'News from Nowhere'?

Pendant le débat un intermède assez gai a eu lieu; les Socialistes de la chambre ont demandé à l'interpellateur ce que deviendraient les pauvres Romanichels quand on leur aurait pris leur voiture. A cela, il a répondu gravement que les Romanichels sont 'des gens riches, de véritables capitalistes'! Et c'est ce qui montre la duplicité de ces Romanichels: tout à l'heure on ne pouvait pas les expulser du territoire, parce qu'ils n'avaient pas d'état civil; à présent, 'on ne peut les arrêter comme vagabonds parce qu'ils ont tous de l'or dans leurs poches.' Ceci prouve bien le machiavélisme de cette race maudite qui se joue des gouvernements, de l'ordre des choses et de son auguste famille.

C'est à ce moment qu'un député, M. Jourde, s'est illustré à jamais par une remarque qui n'était pas venue à l'esprit de ses collègues. Il a demandé à l'interpellateur: 'A QUOI RECONNAÎT-ON UN ROMANICHEL?' Alors, sans donner le temps à l'honorable M. Fernand David de s'expliquer, ça a été un déluge de réponses. 'Un Romanichel,' a dit M. Pelissonnier [il faut conserver les noms dans ce débat historique], 'c'est un nomade qui ne fait rien.' Voilà bien la précision et la clarté françaises!

Et cependant cette définition à la Rochefoucauld ne lui a pas

suffi. Il a essayé d'étendre sa formule: 'Ils sont,' a-t-il ajouté, 'dans le Midi l'hiver et dans le Nord l'été.' Voilà l'explication toute trouvée des migrations des Gypsies. Il continue à préciser, d'une façon de plus en plus brillante: 'Les Nomades sont des gens qui ne travaillent pas et qui vont du Nord au Midi et du Midi au Nord.'

Voilà l'explication cherchée si longtemps et trouvée par un député. M. Léonce de Castelnaud, après l'explication ethnologique, a donné l'explication légale: 'Ce sont des gens,' a-t-il dit, 'sans nationalité déterminée par un état civil régulier, sans profession et sans domicile.' Mais pendant ces explications, que faisait le malheureux interpellateur? Il a bien essayé de répondre à la terrible question: 'A quoi reconnaît-on un Romanichel? On reconnaît les Romanichels, a-t-il dit, à des signes qui sont les suivants: il y a d'abord un signe de race que vous connaissez comme moi . . .'

On allait peut-être avoir enfin l'explication tant cherchée de l'origine des Romanichels ou Gypsies, mais ici l'orateur s'est arrêté, il s'est contenté d'ajouter: 'J'avoue que je ne croyais pas qu'on pût poser la question, car elle est posée depuis des années; c'est la solution seule qui reste à trouver.' Ici le voile qui s'était soulevé est retombé lourdement, et jamais peut-être la science n'aura le mot de l'énigme, qu'allait lui donner M. Fernand David.

La solution parlementaire a été donnée par un ordre du jour de l'interpellateur. 'La Chambre, confiant dans le Gouvernement, compte sur son active vigilance pour assurer l'ordre et la sécurité dans les villes et les campagnes et pour débarrasser le pays des incursions des bandes des Romanichels.' Et cependant, l'inquisitif M. Jourde n'est pas satisfait. On n'a pas répondu à sa question: 'A quoi reconnaît-on un Romanichel?' Il ne lui reste qu'un seul moyen au monde de satisfaire sa curiosité, c'est de prendre un abonnement à notre Revue.

X.—A HUNDRED SHELTA SAYINGS

Taken down by JOHN SAMPSON

In the Ulster dialect. Collected in Liverpool, about seventeen years ago, mostly from two old Irish Tinkers, John Barlow and Phil Murray.

Phonetic symbols practically the same as in my Gypsy stories, viz. Long vowels: *ā*, advanced long *a* as in 'baa'; *ār* final, as in 'bar'; *d* as in 'saw'; *ē* as in 'day'; *ī* as in 'see'; *ō* as in 'so'; *ū* as in 'boot.' Short vowels: *a* as

in 'cat'; *e* as in 'met'; *i* as in 'sit'; *o*, as in 'not'; *u* as in 'full'; *ʌ* as in 'cut.' Diphthongs: *ai* as in 'my'; *au* as in 'now'; *oi* as in 'boil.' Consonants: *ch* [č] as in 'chin'; *sh* [š] as in 'shin'; *g* always hard; *χ* as in Germ. 'ich'; *ng* [ŋ] as in 'sing'; *th* [tʰ], the soft sound heard in 'water' spoken by an Irishman; *dh* [dʰ], the corresponding sound in the Irish pronunciation of 'bother'; others as in English. Syllabic stress is indicated only when it falls other than on the first syllable.

LITTLE SAYINGS

1. *Mwīlsha bog'd Sheldrū* I learned Shelta on my mother's
swārthnadherrum's miskon. breast.
2. *A thārī shīrth gather to* A speech come down from father
kam. to son.
3. *Mūlsha's kam granhēs od* My son knows (only) two words.
luba.
4. *Stēsh gloχ ār-gwilyō.* The man has lain down
5. *Thūm thol, gyuksta.* A big price, old man.
6. *Nījesh kradyī a simaja.* Don't stay a minute.
7. *Bīder a kyena krish blanōg.* The woman of the house is an
old cow.
8. *'Nyūrth lesk mīlsha thwārī,* 'Now tell me the price,' says
thārīs bīder. the woman.
9. *Thōrī nolsk and thārī to the* Come here and talk to the girl.
lukin.
10. *Get nōberī Sheldhrū.* Leave off your Bog-Latin.
11. *Mūlsha's karb thōrī'd aχīm* My old woman came out of the
ken-gop. workhouse.
12. *Nījesh, swīblī, getūrī.* Don't be afraid, boy.
13. *Skūldrūm kadyog nap.* Burning lime.
14. *Mūēnya grādnī, nījesh* Last Saturday, not next Satur-
grādnī thōrīn'. day.
15. *Mūlsha sunī'd gloχ rīlkū* I saw the madman throwing
inoxīn' kadyogs asthūrth stones in the bush and curs-
the skruχ and jūmikin'. ing.
16. *Nūs a dhalyōn, mīlī.* By the help of God I'll go.
17. *Thom graχū, nījesh mūlsha* Great hurry, I can't wait.
kradyī.
18. *Get swīblī, gamī gloχ gruχ* Stop boy, the bad man will shoot
dhī-īl. you.
19. *Nījesh mīlī, gruχasha dhī-* Don't go, he will shoot you.
īl.
20. *Bog sik granlum.* Get some 'kitchen.'¹

¹ i.e. condiment, relish.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 21. <i>Stēsh tháp minŭrth.</i> | Faith, he's alive now. |
| 22. <i>Gloχ, lask gwish.</i> | Man, light the straw. |
| 23. <i>Gloχ srenthū a thāsp.</i> | Old man raving in death. |
| 24. <i>Krish karb roidyō gāt lakin.</i> | The old woman courting like a young girl. |
| 25. <i>Dhalyōn awārth stēsh shīka nūdyas.</i> | Three persons and one God. |
| 26. <i>Bīnī sharog lakin mǎnī spārkerā.</i> | The little red-haired girl is a fine flirt. |
| 27. <i>Sharū olsk ād.</i> | A quarter past two. |
| 28. <i>Korī in the mamerum, sik nūdyā grāfsha.</i> | A foot in the room, some person haunting the place. |
| 29. <i>Nŭrth, Nyēthus, gloχ granhēs thōman.</i> | Now, Jimmy, the man knows too much. |
| 30. <i>Nījesh grabaltha thrīpus in gloχ.</i> | I'm not able to fight the man. |
| 31. <i>Thōman guredh, thōman kiénthis, thōman grāg grē swārth.</i> | Too much wealth, too many houses, too many streets sprung up. |
| 32. <i>Mūllsha shkimashk, mūdril a milk gamēer the gloχ.</i> | I am drunk, but devil a bit the worse man for that. |
| 33. <i>Get grimsha thōrīn'. Gūōp grimsha mīslīn'.</i> | Hot weather is coming. Cold weather is going. |
| 34. <i>Stēsh charp minkur bīōer, granhē her grēdhūrn.</i> | That's a true Tinker woman, I know by her face. |
| 35. <i>Mūgathon nījesh granīs mūllsha.</i> | The fool does not understand me. |
| 36. <i>Gorī stūrt dhī-īl myiskon.</i> | Cover up your breast. |
| 37. <i>Aχ! Gison, būga dhū guredh gyē Sibbī guvéuχ grostār.</i> | Ah! John, I will give you money with Sibbie until you are pleased. |
| 38. <i>Nījesh mūllsha medherī, medherī dūllsha.</i> | I won't carry it, carry it thou. |
| 39. <i>Thōrīn' mūénya mūllsha.</i> | Following me. |
| 40. <i>Gothena gēeg'd mūllsha aχīm to myausō.</i> | The young one asked me out to dance. |
| 41. <i>Stēsh ād gloχhē thāral.</i> | There are two men talking. |
| 42. <i>Dūllsha thāri gamī labūrth?</i> | Did you say a bad curse? |
| 43. <i>Krish gyukera have mūni Sheldrū.</i> | Old beggars have good Shelta. |
| 44. <i>Glōrhī bīōr-skēv.</i> | Listen to the fishwife. |

45. *Grē and mislī. Stēsh nedhas a mīdril.* Rise and be off. This is a devil's place.
46. *Mwīlsha's bīōr thāsp'd aχér.* My wife died last night.
47. *Nījesh stamara.* Don't spit.
48. *Nījesh thwārl your grüber.* Not worth your notice.
49. *Mūtlsha lī nedhas a dhalōn.* My bed and lodging in heaven.
50. *Gūskin' nedhas a shīrk.* Sitting on the grass.
51. *Chinoχ awarths lōrsp'd, the gáthēna's rīpuχin' and grüberin'.* One's married, the young one's carrying on and working.
52. *Nedhas aχīm in the shkiblin.* A lodging out in the barn.
53. *Nārth get in gather.* Now, leave the beer.
54. *Solt, skait, and sūrt.* Arrested, transported, and hanged.
55. *Get mūtlsha sunī.* Wait till I see.
56. *Mūtlsha's mūni grau.* My best love.
57. *Grīchas asthārt, nījesh mislī asthārt the kīēna.* Sickness inside, don't go into the house.
58. *Klisp'n' thalōsk, soon be ludhus thōriin' stūrt the grenōg.* Day is breaking, light will soon be coming through the window.
59. *Mūtlsha's grostār to sunī dhī-īlsha rāgli.* I am pleased to see you laugh.
60. *Lesk mūtlsha, and mūtlsha lesk dhī-īlsha.* Tell me, and I'll tell you.
61. *Stēsh bīōr yīlsha.* There's your woman.
62. *Rinshkal nīdēsh minārth.* Sieve-makers are nothing nowadays.
63. *Mūtlsha grēdhi my lī nedhas in this lārk.* I'll make my bed in this corner.
64. *Gamiest od gamī lakin thribli, mūtlsha ever sunīd.* The worst family of two daughters I ever saw.
65. *I sunīd the gothēna spūrkin' aχīm, aχér.* I saw the younger one carrying on outside yesterday.
66. *Nījesh stafa būga dhī-īlsha.* I'll never give it you.
67. *Rabin's nāp surχa medherin' lampa.* Mary's back's tired carrying the bag.
68. *Mūnkerī nīdyas sheb gamī guredh 'Donovan.'* The country people call a bad coin a 'Donovan.'

69. *Gorī mūtlsha sik.* Give me some.
70. *Thom kamera shūral gamī grīchath.* The big racing-dog has some bad sickness.
71. *Geth in glox.* Let the old man be.
72. *Mūtlsha gamī in grīt shīkr grathon, my krish karb gamī minyārth, mūtlsha's kam and the bīor nījesh thōrī'd to sunī my-dyl.* I've been very ill these three weeks, my old woman is ill now, my son and his wife never come to see me.
73. *Lūsh goshtya of the stīma.* Have a good suck at the pipe.
74. *'Aχ! Hibbī, ke nyīpa thū, Hibbī?' 'O gather, gwilyīn' nāsdēsh.' 'Achērpā thū mwog's nyuk?' 'Ah! Hibbie, where are you, Hibbie?' 'O father, lying down.' 'Have you cooked the pig's head?' 'Mūtlsha sunī'd nījesh mwog's nyuk, gather.' 'I never saw the pig's head, father.'*
75. *Nūlsk you sunī mūtlsha? Aχāram?* When will you see me? Tomorrow?
76. *Gop gradhum shedhīs getūl and nījesh a nark, sūnal od sharker mūniāth or gamiāth thōrīs shīrth.* The poor soul stands naked and afraid, watching the scales to see whether the good or evil weighs the heavier.
77. *Sunī got lakīn, od miskōn aχīm, nīdēsh gotherīn, nīdēsh inoχīn' miskōn.* Look at the young girl with her two breasts out; she has no child, so she's not been giving it the breast.
78. *'Lūgīl aχīm dhī-īl grēdhī about mūtlsha's gulīmas,' thāri'd the glox thūsp, 'athōmier than gulīmas a glox ērpa?' and he būg'd a milk of his dīl by the kōrīs, and klīsp'd his nyuk swūrth the klaithon a nedhas ladhū.* 'What alarm do you make about my boots,' said the corpse. 'more than about another man's boots?' and he caught him by the legs, and dashed his brains out against the wall of the graveyard.

PROVERBS

79. *Stīmera dhī-īlsha, stīmera aga dhī-īlsha.* If you're a piper, have your own pipe.

80. *Gloχ nūdēsh a gloχ rāks* A man's no man at all without
abārth od grifin. two coats.
81. *Thōman thāral and nījesh* Much talk and no good.
māniāth.
82. *Kāldrām nījesh spārku.* *Recumbere non est coire.*
83. *Biđer medheris gīder.* The woman wears the breeks.
84. *Sānal chīma in tharpōn,* Like a chip in porridge, small
binī māniāth, binī gamī- good and small ill.
āth.
85. *Nap grēdhārñ χurī nījesh* A white-faced horse is never
munī. any good.
86. *Mwik biōrs nījesh nyēfn.* Connaught women have no
 shame.
87. *Sūgū thōris, mātīsha mislī* War is coming, I'll be off to my
gliēt thom to loban. cabin in the mountains.
88. *Mislō granhēs thāber.* The traveller knows the road.
89. *Thom Blōrnē nījesh Nīp* Every Protestant isn't an
gloχ. Orangeman.

WISHES GOOD AND EVIL

90. By the holy *dhalyōn, sōbli,* By the holy God, fellow, I'll have
I'll solk your gradhum! your life!
91. *Gamī grau to that gloχ!* Bad luck to that man!
92. *Dālyon mislī with you,* God go with you, boy.
swibli.
93. *Dhūtīsha kurog for gloχ.* [Insult.]
94. *Nūs a dhalyon dhūtīsha.* The blessing of God on you.
95. *Mislī, gamī grā dhī-īl!* Be off, and bad luck to you!
96. *Lūsh my kunya lyē smol-* [Insult.]
kera.
97. *Gāp my thūr.* [Insult.]
98. *Nūs - a - dhalyōn mwīlsha* God bless our home.
hāvarī.
99. *Spārku dhī-īlsha!* [Insult.]
100. *Labārth shelthū a dhalyōn* The seven curses of God on
dhī-īl! you!

REVIEWS

Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie orientales: No. 3, Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie. Par M. J. DE GOEJE. Leide, 1903 (Brill).

LE nom de De Goeje est depuis longtemps très haut placé dans l'estimation des tsiganologues. Ses recherches, son amour pour le sujet qui l'occupe, sa compétence dans les études d'histoire et de géographie orientales assurent à tout ce qui sort de sa plume l'accueil respectueux et reconnaissant de nous autres tous, qui pouvons nous considérer comme ses élèves et admirateurs.

Et l'ouvrage ci-dessus indiqué ne fait qu'augmenter les titres que De Goeje a à notre gratitude. D'autant plus que l'emploi de la langue française le rend encore plus accessible à tous les lecteurs, qui ne connaissent pas la langue hollandaise.

Le livre débute par une consciencieuse étude sur les témoignages généraux sur les Tsiganes orientaux—l'Auteur passe ensuite à examiner plus de près les Djat et autres peuples voisins du Sind; il le suit dans la période qui précède l'Islam et puis il parle des émigrations des Zott à l'époque contemporaine de l'Islam. Une analyse sommaire de la langue des Tsiganes orientaux et occidentaux le porte à conclure pour l'unité du fond de la langue de tous les Tsiganes—et l'Auteur aborde ensuite la question de la nationalité et des noms que les Tsiganes reçoivent en Orient, avec une ampliation sur les noms de *tsigane* et d'*égyptien*. Le livre est complété par une Récapitulation.

Inutile de dire, puisqu'il s'agit de l'illustre De Goeje, que toutes les sources sont méticuleusement contrôlées, l'érudition sobre mais exacte, et l'énumération claire, méthodique, sans postiches romanesques. C'est un travail de véracité et de science.

Naturellement, comme tous les auteurs très forts dans leur bagage d'études et très passionnés pour leur thèse, De Goeje tire ses conclusions sous une forme très-axiomatique. Ce qui démontre la chaude foi de l'illustre Auteur, mais qui parfois pourrait se corser d'un peu d'hésitation, s'agissant d'événements aussi reculés et laissés dans une sombre obscurité par la Tradition et par l'Histoire.

Ainsi—avec tout le respect que nous professons pour le Maître

—nous nous demandons si, même en admettant la thèse de *l'unité de la langue*, cette conclusion est synonyme de l'hypothèse de *l'unité de l'émigration*.

Dire que, puisque les Tsiganes d'Europe ont un fond linguistique commun entre eux et avec leurs confrères d'Asie, il faut conclure à un seul exode de ce peuple et conclure, par conséquent, que la pluralité de leurs migrations est démentie par l'unité de leur langue, nous semble une déduction tant soit peu risquée à l'état encore nébuleux des documents.

L'unité du langage peut prouver une unité d'origine; mais les migrations peuvent avoir été différentes, de temps et d'itinéraire, sans que cela soit trop visible par les néologismes absorbés par la langue mère à travers les contrées de passage. D'autant plus si les migrations ont été rapides.

Déduire donc l'unité de leur exode par la reconnaissance de l'unité du *substratum* de leur langue me paraît une proposition qui peut ne pas être acceptée par tout le monde, sans bénéfice d'inventaire.

Renan, le grand Renan, a refusé nettement l'identification de l'élément linguistique avec l'élément ethnique et historique.

'La langue—disait-il—est un élément de groupement et de séparation plus capital que la race. Ce qu'il importe de remarquer en effet c'est que les différentes espèces humaines d'une part, et les différentes familles de langue d'autre part, furent des faits *séparés par des siècles nombreux, si bien que l'histoire des divisions des espèces humaines et de la division de langues ne coïncident nullement.*' (Préf. à *L'Hist. du Peuple hébreux*, et voyez aussi, *Les Langues et les Races*, par RENAN. Conf. Sorbonne, 2 mars 1878.)

Pendant cinq siècles la Sicile a reçu des incessantes immigrations grecques, qui ont fini par la peupler d'un élément ethnique seul : l'hellénisme. Or le *substratum* grec des populations de la Sicile est visiblement identique et prouve l'*origine* commune; mais l'*exode* a été multiple, échelonné pendant le cours de plusieurs siècles.

Et, du reste, ne voyons-nous pas ce même phénomène de nos yeux à notre époque?

Oui! Et si d'ici à dix siècles un savant étudie en Amérique tous les colons italiens et allemands, etc., issus des émigrations du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle, à coup sûr il trouvera pour chaque nationalité un *substratum* linguistique égal, qui lui permettra de dire que l'origine italienne ou allemande, ou autre, est commune à ces

colons, transplantés en Amérique. Mais pourra-t-il soutenir avec égale vérité que *donc* leur exode a été *unique*, quand nous voyons que depuis un siècle chaque paquebot transatlantique transporte dans le Nouveau Continent des milliers d'émigrants italiens, allemands, etc., qui accomplissent ainsi des exodes multiples ?

En faisant donc des justes réserves sur l'acceptation de cette déduction, le travail de M. de Goeje n'en reste pas moins un précieux ouvrage et une splendide contribution à l'étude du problème tsigane.

La reconnaissance de nos confrères doit saluer l'illustre Maître, auquel nous envoyons toute notre admiration. COLLOCCI.

More Pages from the Day-Book of Bethia Hardacre. By ELLA FULLER MAITLAND. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1907. *Price 6s.*

In this delightful book I am asked to speak particularly about the pages on the Gypsies. If they were about anything else I should find it difficult not to linger by the way with my favourite Drayton, and the first edition of the book of his that I like best; or among old books that few people know; or among thoughts that have lain in lavender; or among quiet new verses. But just as Gautier was troubled whenever he saw the middle 'g' of Hugo trampling across the page of a book, so, for me, there is the same magic in the first 'g' of Gypsy. In a book where nothing is without its attractiveness, a book not to be read straight through, I turn then with an immediate choice to the page which brings in the Gypsies, with their first 'fine picturesqueness,' entering Europe under dukes and counts. And I find many quaint stories, fact or at least tradition, taken from many records, and all give a kind of wild and fantastically coloured picture, as of folk who live always in fancy dress, dealing mysterious cards, and seeming to play a mysterious part in some tragic comedy; 'Moonmen,' Dekker called them, and the epithet should be remembered, showing as it does a people who were akin to nature by night as well as by day. 'As though accursed of heaven,' says a Franciscan friar of the fourteenth century, and because 'they wander from field to field.' Surely blessed of heaven more than all other races that live in Europe, because they alone have the joy of not living under a roof. Two races, Jews and Gypsies, have the privilege

of freedom from all temporary attachments to a particular small corner of the earth; they go through the mere 'states' of those who are a background to them, like one who threads a maze by some instinct. It is the necessity of both that they should exist by the clever handling of money; but the difference is that one tells fortunes, the other makes them: a point at which the Gypsies remain at least more interesting to the amateur in mankind. And that living in the open air, that hatred of the human cage, our house, is what wholly distinguishes them from even this other Eastern race, who would, if it could, attach itself in passing, by mere right of possession, to the spot of earth which it has bought for money. The Gypsy will have no possessions, knowing, as none of us know, that every possession is a fetter.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

The Tinkler-Gypsies. By ANDREW M'CORMICK. New and enlarged edition, with many new Illustrations. Dumfries: J. Maxwell and Son. Price 5s. net.

That there should have been such an early demand for a new edition of Provost M'Cormick's book is not only gratifying to the author, but it is a sign, to be hailed with pleasure by all Gypsio-logists, that there is a growing interest in Gypsy matters among the general public. In several respects this new edition is an improvement on the old. There has been some judicious cutting-out, chiefly of purely local matter not relating specially to Gypsies or Tinklers. Nevertheless the book is larger than its precursor by some sixty pages, and most readers will find these very attractive. Two chapters are added, one describing 'A Scotch Gypsy Village,' and the other treating of 'Tinklers' Bairns.' Moreover, three new Tinkler-tales are introduced, obtained at first hand from 'Grannie,' another of whose stories appears in the present number of our Journal. In this old woman Mr. M'Cormick has made a distinct *trouvaille*, for she possesses a fund of stories which, in spite of modern intrusions, are clearly recognisable as belonging to the common stock of European folk-tales. And, in passing, the fact may be recalled that Francis Hindes Groome attributed the diffusion of these folk-tales to Gypsies, in a great measure at any rate. Hints of other links with medievalism appear in the pages of *The Tinkler-Gypsies*. For example, it is stated (p. 328) that the

Christinas mummers in a certain Berwickshire village, who are locally styled 'Goloshians' and 'White Boys of Yule,' are generally muggers' children. If those 'muggers' do not represent an old local stock, why should they preserve this ancient custom longer than their neighbours? A parallel case occurs in the Balkan Peninsula, where, as Kopernicki points out (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 70), it is the Gypsy children who preserve the old songs and dances in celebration of the advent of spring. The vocabulary of Mr. McCormick's Tinklers also offers some puzzling questions of this kind. Why should these people continue to use the Old French *test* for 'head' long after it has passed out of current speech elsewhere? But these are questions easier asked than answered.

Except for some slight orthographical changes, Mr. McCormick's lists of words remain as in the first edition. It is to be hoped that he will continue to add to his vocabulary and publish the result. It is in this direction and in the collection of folk-tales that his work has its most permanent value; although I do not forget the other good qualities of the book. That it will attract many into the ways of Gypsyism is assured by the sympathy and enthusiasm of the author, whose realistic and yet kindly descriptions present the Tinklers before us as they actually live, and move, and speak. There are several interesting illustrations added in this edition, notably those of Irish Tinklers. But the pictures (pp. 418-24) of the mock coronation at Yetholm on 30th May 1898 ought to be omitted from a future edition, as being utterly misleading. I speak as one who witnessed the ceremony, which was engineered by gaujeos, Gypsies being conspicuous by their absence. One or two other pictures, such as Faed's 'Julia Mannering,' might also be left out with advantage, now that the book appeals to a wider audience than before. Mr. McCormick's own descriptions, written and pictorial, are of more direct interest than anything else.

Mr. John Sampson has written a lively Introduction to this edition, into which he has compressed much attractive information.

It may be added that the design on the cover is in black, red, and yellow; the Gypsy colours of Spain, according to the late Lord Lilford (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 60).

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

24

GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS AT GENEVA

THE 'Neuvième Congrès International de Géographie' will be held at Geneva from July 27 to August 6, 1908; and on the *agenda* figures 'La question des Tsiganes.' Amongst those who will take part in the discussion are the Marquis Adriano Colocci, Professor Guido Cora of Rome, and Dr. Eugène Pittard; the latter of whom, on behalf of the Committee of Organisation, would be glad to hear from any members of the Gypsy Lore Society who will be able to assist by their presence at, or contribute papers to, the 'Section de Tsiganologie.' Dr. Pittard may be addressed at the Comité d'Organisation, à l'Athénée, Genève, Switzerland.

25

GYPSY RIDDLES

A very interesting form of Miss Lyster's second riddle (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i., notes 11 and 15), and a list of references to it, will be found in the excellent *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (84 Carlisle Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.), vol. ii. p. 297. It there appears as a *Cante-fable* with a quaint and beautiful Dorian melody. Mr. F. Kidson, who noted it, states that 'there are a vast number of references to it, and it appears to exist in similar form all over England, to say nothing of versions current in Ireland and elsewhere.'

26

ARTİSTRÄ, 'FIELD-MOUSE'

Lord Moreton writes to point out that *Artlsträ*, the first word in Mr. John Myers's Vocabulary from South Wales (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i., note 22), occurs in a book which he edited—*A Glossary of Dialect and Archaic Words used in the County of Gloucester*, by J. Drummond Robertson, London, 1890 (English Dialect Society, No. 61). It is printed *Artishrew* or *Artistrow*, and is a pure Gloucestershire word which Lord Moreton has known all his life as common in the Berkeley Vale. Another of Mr. Myers's words, 'Rūni, is suspiciously like the last syllable of the Gloucestershire form of "mushroom"—*musheroon* or *mesheroon*.'

27

TO EAT HITS

Mr. Gilliat-Smith, in his third example of the dialect of the Gypsies of the Rhine province, gives us the Romani idiom *xás-menge . . . dība*, 'we shall be thrashed' (lit. 'we shall eat hits'), and adds in a footnote, 'This is probably an expression dating from the Gypsies' first entrance into Europe, or even earlier. The Turks and Persians have the same saying.'

It may be worth notice that the same idiom occurs in the dialect of the Graeco-Turkish Gypsies, cp. Paspatis, p. 503 (*s.v.* Tap dáva), '*Khála tabá*, il mange des coups.'

KISH.

28

GRÁNI, 'MARE'

In connection with Kish's supposition (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i. p. 96), that *gráni*, a 'mare,' is regularly formed from Romani *grai*, it is worth noting that in Old Icelandic *grána* means a 'grey mare,' and *gráni*, a 'grey horse.' Gráni, the horse of Sigurd Fáfnisbane (the Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied*), was of Sleipnir's race, and Sleipnir was the eight-footed steed of Odin. As the Icelandic words are derivatives of *grar*, 'grey,' their resemblance to Romani *gráni* must be purely fortuitous.

GEORGE F. BLACK.

29

KURDISH OR GYPSY

The following letter, which appeared in the *Athenæum* of November 6, 1897, p. 635, is an interesting commentary on Mr. Sinclair's paragraph about Kurdish on page 207 of this number of the Journal.

KURDISH OR GYPSY.—*Edinburgh*.—Our information about the Gypsies of Asia is so meagre that it is worth pointing out a fresh and unlikely source. In the Göttingen quarterly *Orient und Occident* (1864, pp. 104-6) is a 'Kurdish Vocabulary' of 102 words, contributed by Dr. Friedrich Müller, a Gypsologist! Whether at Vienna or not he does not say, but in the tavern of the Golden Angel, where he generally passed the evening, Dr. Müller, on November 25, 1863, met four wanderers on their way through from Urumiah in Persia. They spoke modern Persian and Turkish, and one of them 'Kurdish as his mother-tongue,' in which he sang two or three songs, besides supplying the vocabulary. Now I know nothing of Kurdish, and have no access just now to books; but this I do know, that a large proportion of the words in this vocabulary are very good Rómani, some of them known to Gypsies all the world over, others more or less peculiar to the Asiatic dialects of the language. In the following list O. stands for Ouseley, who wrote on the Persian Gypsy dialect, 1823; N. for Newbold, Syrian Gypsy dialect, 1856; E. for Miss Everest, ditto, 1891; and P. for Paspatis, Asia Minor dialect, 1870. Dr. Müller gives *agir*, fire (cf. *ag*, N.; *eg*, P.); *bâp*, father (*bâh*, E.); *dar*, tree (*dhâl*, E.); *dast*, hand (*khas*, O.; *hast*, P.); *kôr*, blind (*kori*, P.); *mas*, fish (*mâtcha*, P.; *matché*, O.; *machchi*, E.); *mishk*, mouse (*mushk*, rat, P.); *nan*, bread (*manan*, E.); *nav*, name (*passim*); *pai*, foot (*pav*, O.; *bav*, P.); *panir*, cheese (*pendir*, P.; *banir*, Seetzen); *sar*, head (*sir*, N.; *seró*, P.); *shav*, night (*show*, N.); *stir*, star (*stiar*, P.); and *zor*, strength (*passim*); besides the numerals *yet*, one; *du*, two; *char*, four; *peng*, five; *sesh*, six; *havi*, seven; *hasht*, eight; *nah*, nine; and *dah*, ten. To find an Asiatic Gypsy so far west of the Ottoman empire and at so recent a period has a high interest not merely for Gypsologists, but for folk-lorists generally.

F. H. GROOMER.

30

SUPPLEMENTARY ANNALS

To the passages collected in Mr. Crofton's 'Supplementary Annals of the Gypsies' might be added an early reference in No. XXII. of the *Shirburn Ballads*, published last year by A. Clark. The ballad is entitled 'The Famous Rat-Ketcher, with his trauels in France, and of his return to London,' and the tenth verse (p. 95) runs as follows:—

'He never careth whether
he be sober tame, or tipsye;
He can colloque with any Rogue,
and can with any Gipsie.'

The author of the ballad, which is presumably of the same period as the dated numbers of the collection, between 1585 and 1616, appears to have known that there was a difference between the cant of a Rogue and the language of the Gypsies.

It is possible that the rat-catcher of the time may have often been a Gypsy : at any rate, as the title shows, he was a wanderer ; and, to judge from verses 4 and 5, he was as learned in mysterious 'drows and brimstones' as old Mrs. Hearne :—

' He knew the Nutt of India that makes the Magpy stagger, The Mercuries and Cantharides, with Arsnicke and Roseaker.	Full often with a Negro, the iuyce of poppies drunke hee ; Eate Poyson ranke, with a mountebanke and spiders, with a Monkye.'
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Of much the same date is a reference in J. Eldred's *Voyage to Trypolis and Syria*, printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. ii. (1599), and reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*. There, speaking of the 'Arabs' on the Euphrates, Eldred says : 'Their hair, apparel, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians which heretofore have gone about England.' Beazley dates the voyage about 1592.

There is also a reference to the Gypsies in an undated chap-book called *The Mad Pranks of Tom Tram*, in which they for once are worsted in a trial of wits by the Gorgio hero, who is a kind of Eulenspiegel. 'It happened one evening there came a number of Gypsies to town, whom Tom meeting, asked what they did there ? They said, "To tell people their fortunes, that they might avoid approaching danger." "Where do you lie to-night ?" said Tom. "We cannot tell," said they. "If you can be content to lie in the straw," says Tom, "I will show you where you may lie dry and warm." They thanked him, and said they would tell his fortune for nothing. Tom then took them to a little thatched house with a moat round it, and leaving them there set fire to the house and took away the plank across the moat. In the night the Gypsies, noticing the fire, rushed out and fell into the ditch, to the amusement of the townspeople assembled by Tom to see them. Whereupon Tom told them, 'that seeing they could not foretell their own fortunes, he would, which was on the morrow morning they should be whipt for cheats, and in the afternoon charged for setting the house on fire. The Gypsies hearing this, having made haste to dry themselves, got out of the town before day breake, and never came there afterwards.'

The book is included in Ashton's *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century* (p. 252), and dated in the British Museum Catalogue 1760 (?).

In another, rather earlier, eighteenth-century tract entitled *Charity still a Christian Virtue or an Impartial Account of the Tryal and Conviction of the Rev. Mr. Headley for preaching a Charity-Sermon at Chisselhurst . . . at the Assizes held at Rochester, on Wed., July 15, 1719* (London, 1719), the Gypsies find themselves in the quaintest of company. After quoting on page 7 the Act of Elizabeth 39 against 'all who pretend to be Aegyptians,' the writer, on page 11, adds the comment 'Why those who pretend to be Aegyptians, were deem'd Rogues, need not be enlarged upon. They are upon the same level with those who call themselves Great Poles, Protestant Churchmen, Palatines, Hugonots, etc.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

31

PRATCHEELY AND PRARCHERDY, 'FLAME'

Pratcheely, 'flame,' occurs in Jacob Bryant's 'Vocabulary of the Zingara or Gypsey Language,' printed in the *Annual Register*, 1787, p. 84, from a manuscript

transmitted by John Douglas (Pott, ii. 360, without comment); *prarcherdy* in Bath Smart's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 62, as well as in Smart and Crofton's revised edition of the same work. Bryant's spelling '*pratcheely*' can hardly mean that the word should be pronounced and accented *pračĕlĭ*, which would be contrary to usage, and probably *-eely* is a misprint for *-elly*, for the whole vocabulary abounds with typographical errors, attributable to misreadings of Bryant's handwriting. In Bath Smart's spelling the *ar* of *prarcherdy* apparently represents the long *a* of 'father,' as in his *praster* for the usual *praster*.

This leaves us for analysis the two forms *práčĕlĭ* and *práčĕdĭ*—a stem *prač*, with alternative suffixes *-ĕlĭ* and *-ĕdĭ*. This proves that *prač* must be a verb-stem, since the latter suffix (*-ĕdĭ*) is never appended to noun-stems (*čuredō*, the only apparent exception being a late corruption of *čurorō*, the Greek and Welsh Gypsy form).

We therefore recognise in *-ĕlĭ* and *-ĕdĭ* respectively the feminine forms of the past participles in *-lō* and *-dō*, joined to the verb-stem *prač* by the connecting vowel *-e-*. There can also be no doubt that of these two forms of the participle that in *-lō* is the original one, for the tendency in English Gypsy has always been to replace participles and participial tenses in *-lō* and *-nō* by *-dō*. Thus from English Gypsies who have retained some knowledge of the old conjugation one hears *ardōm* for '*riōm*' (= '*rilōm*') and *rōvdōm* for '*rūniōm*' (= '*rōvniōm*'). We have therefore only to find our verb *prač*, p. part. *pračdō*. Now in Welsh Romani *pračāva* means 'I rise,' and is indeed only another form of the English Gypsy *ač oprē*. Again, in Welsh and Continental Gypsy dialects *ač* is one of the verbs that form the participle in *-lō* (cp. W. Gyp. *ačilo*, 'stopper, or stopple, of a bottle.')

So *práčĕlĭ*, or *práčĕdĭ*, merely means 'the thing that rises up.' We may surmise that it was offered by Bryant's Gypsies (who must have known the word *prač*) as the best rendering that occurred to them of the English word 'flame,' and that Bath Smart, seeking to render his own vocabulary more complete by the not very reliable method of inquiring whether his Gypsies knew words recorded by earlier Romani Rais, may have extracted the concession that '*práčĕdĭ* might do werry well for "flame."' For Gypsies—and this is one of the perils of the collector—have often a mystical sense of language, a subliminal consciousness of the rightness or wrongness of words as gathered from their sound, an artist's feeling of the appropriateness of certain names for certain things. Possibly at the back of the Gypsy's mind was some hazy connection between *práčĕdĭ*, the word suggested to him, and *prē*, 'up,' *ač oprē*, 'arise, *praster*, 'race,' sufficient to make the word sound vaguely descriptive of the action of flame, not unlike the nonsense-words in Lewis Carroll, whose 'slithy' suggests 'lithe' and 'slimy,' or, like the schoolgirls' unhappy coinage, 'mingey' to signify 'mean' and 'stingy.' But there is no proof that *práčĕlĭ* ever formed part of the Romani currency, and those who accept my view of its meaning and origin will refuse to account it a good word, and content themselves with the generally intelligible *yogiki ěib*.

JOHN SAMPSON.

32

TAR, 'FROM'

According to Miklosich (xi. 2) the ablative suffix *-tar* occurs in Italian Romani as a separate word, the preposition *tar* meaning 'from.' If this be correct the fact is linguistically important, for since (as he himself points out) this usage must be a comparatively recent one, it would prove that Romani case-endings may be converted into prepositions, and would appear to lend probability to the similarly formed *sar*, upon the existence of which I expressed doubt in the last number of the Journal.

Fortunately Miklosich gives us his reference. He takes *tar* from Ascoli's observations on the dialect of the South Italian Gypsies (*Zigeunerisches*, p. 139), quoting *tar u (u)odr*, 'from the bed.' But Ascoli wrote *tar* (not *tar*), and in his Register (p. 163) gives the correct cross-reference, '*tar s. katár*,' and under *katár* the variant forms *kutár*, '*tar*.' So that the statement that *tar* exists separately as a preposition is merely another of Miklosich's hasty mistakes.

JOHN SAMPSON.

33

ENGLISH GYPSY MUSICIANS

From a Northamptonshire woman, of respectable farmer class, I learned, some years ago, that in her young days the farmers used to hire Gypsy musicians to play for them and sing at their dances and gatherings. The Gypsy women used to be dressed in white from head to foot, even in winter, for these occasions, and the instruments included *dulcimers*, suggesting perhaps the Hungarian 'tzimbal.'

LUCY BROADWOOD.

34

GYPSY COSTUME, circa 1550

In the *Relaçam Verdadeira* of the Gentleman of Elvas, published at Evora, Portugal, in 1557, there are two references to the dress of Gypsies which I believe have escaped the notice of Gypsiologists. In his fourth chapter, after narrating the arrival of De Soto's company at Gomeira, one of the Canary Islands, on their way to America, the anonymous author says: 'The Governor of the island was apparelled all in white, cloak, jerkin, hose, shoes, and cap, so that he looked like a governor of Gypsies' ('Ho côde daquela ylha andaua todo vestido de brãco, capa 7 pelote 7 calças 7 çapatos 7 carapuça, q parecia côde de ciganos'). Again, cap. xiii., after describing the dress of the women of Toalli (Florida), he says of their blankets: 'The Indian women use them for covering, wearing one about the body from the waist downward, and another over the shoulder, with the right arm left free, after the manner of the Gypsies' ('Cobrê se as indias com estas mâtas, poê hũa aoderredor d' si da cinta pera baixo 7 outra por cima do ombro cõ ho braço dereito fora a maneira 7 uso de ciganos').

GEO. F. BLACK.

35

GYPSIES IN NORTH AMERICA BEFORE 1803

In *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, by Frederick Law Olmsted (New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856), the author records (pp. 638-9) a visit made by him to the house of a southern planter. This planter, when a boy, had lived at Alexandria, Louisiana, which 'was then under Spanish rule.'¹ The inhabitants of the place at that time, it is stated, were of mixed nationalities, French, Spanish, *Egyptian*, Indian, Mulattoes, and Negroes. The Egyptians were said to have come 'from some of the northern islands,'² and had a language of their own which they used among themselves. They also knew French and Spanish. Though of a dark colour they 'passed for white folks,' and frequently intermarried with Mulattoes. The author believed them to have been Spanish Gypsies, and states that they appeared to have been entirely absorbed in the population by 1850.

GEO. F. BLACK.

¹ Spanish rule in Louisiana ceased in 1803.

² I have no idea what islands are here alluded to.—G. F. B.

36

AN EARLY REFERENCE TO GYPSIES IN EUROPE (?)

Some time ago, in reading *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot*, by the Rev. James Wood Brown (Edinburgh, 1897), I came across what appears to be a very early reference to Gypsies in Europe. Mr. Brown cites a passage from *Lo Specchio di vera Penitenza*, by Fra Jacopo Passavanti, a learned Florentine monk of the fourteenth century, in which that author says (p. 351): 'Certain people have a superstition regarding lucky and unlucky days, which have been pointed out to them by those who call themselves Egyptians.' *Lo Specchio di vera Penitenza* is a series of Lenten sermons collected and enlarged by Passavanti himself about the year 1350. The work remained in manuscript until 1580, when it was published in Florence. I have not seen the original work.

GEO. F. BLACK.

[For 'Egyptian Days' see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. i. pp. 310 and 372.—ED.]

37

GYPSIES AT NEVERS, FRANCE, IN 1608

The following passage occurs in *Coryat's Crudities*, a work published in London in 1611. The author was a certain Thomas Coryat, a native of Odcombe, in Somersetshire (born c. 1577, died 1617). He visited France in 1608, arriving in Calais on 14th May. My attention was drawn to this passage by the late Francis Hinds Groome, who pointed out how well Coryat's description agrees with Jacques Callot's pictures of the Gypsy band with whom he travelled through Lorraine, Piedmont, and Lombardy in 1604. These etchings were reproduced in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Old Series, vol. ii. Coryat's word-picture is in these terms: 'I neuer saw so many roguish Egyptians together in any one place in all my life as in Neuers, where there was a great multitude of men, women and children of them, that disguise their faces, as our counterfet western Egyptians in England. For both their haire and their faces looked so blacke, as if they were raked out of hel, and sent into the world by great Beelzebub, to terrifie and astonish mortall men: their men are very Ruffians & Swash-bucklers, hauing exceeding long blacke haire curled, and swords or other weapons by their sides. Their women also suffer their haire to hang loosely about their shoulders, whereof some I saw dancing in the streets, and singing lasciuious vaine songs; whereby they draw many flocks of the foolish citizens about them.'

This extract will be found in vol. i. (p. 54) of the London reprint, 1776, of *Coryat's Crudities*; or in the reprint of 1905 by James MacLehose and Sons, publishers, Glasgow (price 25s. net).

Dekker's description of the English Gypsies in 1609, reproduced by Mr. Sampson in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Old Series, vol. iii. pp. 248-50, corresponds very closely with that given by Coryat.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.



THE WILDEST FAMILY WE EVER MET ON THE ROAD

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. I

APRIL 1908

No. 4

I.—TRANSYLVANIAN GYPSIES

TO GIPSYLAND was the title of the delightful book in which Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pennell described the adventurous bicycle journey to and through Transylvania which they made in 1891 in search of the ideal Gypsy. It is illustrated with some seven dozen drawings; but many sketches made at the same time, though equally interesting and equally beautiful, have not hitherto been published. These Mr. Pennell has, with great generosity, lent to the Gypsy Lore Society for reproduction in its Journal, and five are included in the present number. No better introduction could be found than the protest, which Mrs. Pennell printed on pages 166 and 169 of the book, against compulsory settlement. There is space here for the conclusion only: 'Once, when men were little less savage than the brutes, it was best that the many were tamed; but to-day, that the many are modelled after one peaceful pattern, why not spare the few who still feel the true poetry of life, who still love "the tent pitched beside the talking water, the stars overhead at night, the blest return of morning, the peep of day over the moors, the awaking birds among the birches"? Who would want to turn every lark and blue-jay, every oriole and nightingale, into the little twittering brown sparrow of our town gardens?'

VOL. I.—NO. IV.

T



WAITING FOR SOMETHING TO HAPPEN

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

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BY THE ROADSIDE

By JOSEPH PENNELL

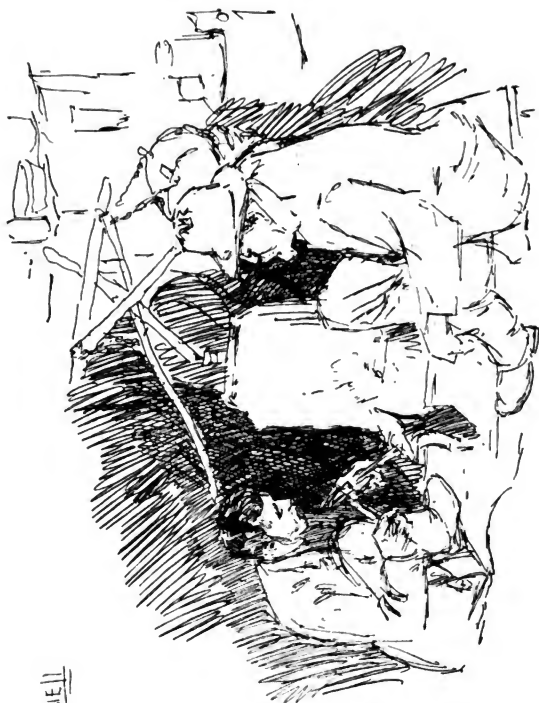
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CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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GYPSY BLACKSMITHS

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II.—IN PRAISE OF GYPSIES

By ARTHUR SYMONS

‘Let the future of the world be what it may, Gypsydom is immortal.’

JAMES SIMSON.

I

‘**E**GYPTIANI, Erronum, Impostorumque genus nequissimum’ is one of the early definitions of that ‘outlandish people,’ according to the statute, 22 Henry VIII., whom we know in our language as Gypsies. Bailey, in his instructive dictionary, which, with Kelsey’s, contains the main errors of Chatterton’s antique speech, has a definition which follows closely upon Spellmann’s. ‘Gipsies (*q. d. Ægyptii*, L.), a Crew of Pilfering Stragglers, who, under Pretence of being Egyptians, pretend to tell People their Fortunes.’ These are probably the opinions of those who are responsible for an act which ‘shall come into operation on the first day of January one thousand nine hundred and nine. . . . This Act may be cited as the Moveable Dwellings Act, 1908.’ They are certainly the opinions of the New Forest Good Samaritan Charity, which in its tenth annual report announces with satisfaction that ‘it is to the public advantage that the Gipsy life, only another name for Nomadic thievish tramps, should be made impossible.’ Should be made impossible, say the philanthropists; shall be made impossible, intimate the makers of the ‘little new law.’ These are the people who hate them, and would control them and banish them, the officials, the prose people, the mechanical minds. The law-givers hate them, the stationary powers hate them, the people who wear uniform and take wages hate them. Those who do not understand them, that is to say the main part of the civilised world, hate them. Now turn aside, and listen to a brooding solitary, Samuel Roberts (‘of Sheffield,’ as he has written in his neat and eager hand on the title-page of my copy of his symbolically decorated ‘sealed book opened’), and hear another voice, speaking, indeed, in the wilderness, as his frontispiece represents him. ‘I cannot, for the life of me,’ he says, ‘bring myself to despise them; they seem to me like the houseless birds whom God feedeth, and for whom He cares. They appear more than any other human beings to depend on Him alone for daily bread. They know not, it is true, much of Him: the wisest of us know but little more. They, however, may view Him in His wonders, and love to live amidst His works, and if they less adore, they, probably, less offend.’

There, in that gentle reproving voice, speaks what should be the speech of all wise men who call themselves Christians. Our laws, in our barbarous land, lower in civilisation than the savages of the Malay Archipelago,¹ are concerned with 'Clause 5. Power to prohibit encampment. Clause 6. Education of children using moveable dwellings.' That is to say, that the farmers who look on the Gypsies as 'a nuisance' (it is the legal word) are allowed to bring 'registration authority' to bear on a caravan halting in the corner of a by-road.² The question of the compulsory education of children is a wider one, and not confined to the Gypsies, though it is more of a hindrance to them in their moving than to the villager settled in his cottage. Education is one of the follies of modern civilisation; it breeds discontent, as we see in every village, where the farm-labourer's daughter, having learned to read her penny novel, and to strum on her harmonium, comes back a mannerless, supposedly educated creature, taught just enough not to know her own ignorance, and finds her parents old-fashioned, illiterate, behind the times. This form of education, which is all that is offered, indeed forced upon, the labourer's children, can never be carried far enough to undo the immense damages that it perpetrates. Education is not only ruining the manners, but displacing the whole being, of the peasant, who began to lose his contact with nature when he first opened a printed sheet blackened with lying and irrelevant 'news.' Why, then, having finished spoiling our villagers, who have been too inert to resist the infliction, are we setting ourselves to the impossible task of spoiling the Gypsies?

Walter Scott, who knew human nature, said in *Guy Mannerling*: 'They're queer deevils—they're warst where they're warst guided. After a', there's baith gude and ill about Gypsies.' They are changeless: the world has no power over them. They live by rote and by faith and by tradition which is part of their blood. They go about in our midst, untouched by us, but reading our

¹ See the magnificent epilogue to Alfred Russel Wallace's book, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 457: 'Until there is a more general recognition of this failure of our civilisation . . . we shall never, as regards the whole community, attain to any real or important superiority over the better class of savages.'

² Again let me quote from *The Malay Archipelago* (p. 458, note): 'We are in a state of barbarism. One more example to justify my use of the term, and I have done. We permit absolute possession of the soil of our country, with no legal right of existence on the soil to the vast majority who do not possess it. . . . That such a power should exist, and be exercised by individuals, in however small a degree, indicates that, as regards true social science, we are still in a state of barbarism.'

secrets; knowing more about us than we do about ourselves; prophets, diviners, soothsayers. They are our only link with the East, with mystery, with magic. They dance and play for money; they dance in Spain, they play in Hungary: they are better dancers than the Spaniards in their national dances, and they play Hungarian music better than the Hungarians. They do few things, but they do these things better than others. They create nothing, they perpetuate; they make theirs whatever is of use to them; they reject whatever their instinct forbids them to take. They reach their own ends by seeming, and are the deftest flatterers on the earth. They drop the disguise with irony or indifference if you see through them and answer them after their own manner.

Can the world repress this race which is so evasive and slips through its gross fingers like wind? 'Like one on a secret errand,' as Walter Pater said of the mysterious Leonardo, they pass through the world. They are the symbol of our aspirations, and we do not know it; they stand for the will for freedom, for friendship with nature, for the open air, for change and the sight of many lands; for all in us that is a protest against progress. Progress is a heavy wheel, turned backward upon us. The Gypsy represents nature before civilisation. He is the wanderer whom all of us who are poets, or love the wind, are summed up in. He does what we dream. He is the last romance left in the world. His is the only free race, and the tyranny of law and progress would suppress his liberty. That is the curse of all civilisation, it is a tyranny, it is the force of repression. To try to repress the Gypsies is to fight against instinct, to try to cut out of humanity its rarest impulse.

The Gypsies are nearer to the animals than any race known to us in Europe. They have the lawlessness, the abandonment, the natural physical grace in form and gesture, of animals; only a stealthy and wary something in their eyes makes them human. Their speech, which is their own, known to them, known to few outside them, keeps them to themselves. They are ignorant of the ugly modern words, the words which we have brought in to sophisticate language. 'Give me half and you take half': divide, that is, in our shorthand. Their lilting voices are unacquainted with anything but the essential parts of speech, all that we need use if we lived in the open air, and put machines out of our hands and minds.

Then, they are part of the spectacle of the world, which they

pass through like a great procession, to the sound of a passionate and mysterious music. They are here to-day and there to-morrow; you cannot follow them, for all the leafy tracks that they leave for each other on the ground. They are distinguishable from the people of every land which they inhabit; there is something in them finer, stranger, more primitive, something baffling to all who do not understand them through a natural sympathy. The sullen mystery of Gypsy eyes, especially in the women, their way of coiling their hair, of adorning themselves with bright colours and many rings and long earrings, are to be found wherever one travels, east or west. Yet it is eastward that one must go to find their least touched beauty, their original splendour. It was in the market-place in Belgrade that I saw the beauty of the Gypsies in its most exact form. Here, taken from the book in which I recorded it, is my instant impression of it: 'I had seen one old woman, an animal worn to subtlety, with the cunning of her race in all her wrinkles, trudging through the streets with a kind of hostile gravity. But here it was the children who fascinated me. There were three little girls, with exactly the skin of Hindus, and exactly the same delicately shaped face, and lustrous eyes, and long dark eyelashes; and they followed me through the market, begging in strange tongues—little catlike creatures, full of humour, vivacity, and bright instinctive intelligence. As we came to one end of the market, they ran up to a young girl of about fifteen, who stood leaning against a pump. She was slender, with a thin, perfectly shaped face, the nose rather arched, the eyes large, black, lustrous, under her black eyebrows; thick masses of black hair ran across her forehead, under the scarlet kerchief. She leaned there, haughty, magnetic, indifferent; a swift animal, like a strung bow, bringing all the East with her, and a shy wildness which is the Gypsy's only.'

II

I may seem, in my profound admiration, to have represented the Gypsies as faultless. They are far from faultless, but those faults can often be explained, if not wholly excused. Their secrecy is a fine art. Their lying is a sign of what is imaginative in them, unbound by fact. Their very thieving is a primitive way of assuming that we may take from another the thing that one is in need of oneself, a quite Biblical way of spoiling the Gentiles, and the

moral of a modern poem, in which the sick King of Bokhara realises and proclaims

‘That, though we take what we desire,
We must not snatch it eagerly.’

The Gypsies’ stealth is without violence, and is used only at the expense of those who oppress them and do them wrong.

Incomprehension, ignorance, the incapacity of that almost forgotten virtue of Live and let live, are the far more essential faults and errors of those who call themselves civilised races. From the first entry of the Gypsies into Europe, the hand of every man has been against them. Once they were burned and hanged; now we would shuffle them off the very earth to which they have the universal human right. How many Gypsies have said to me, quietly and as a matter of course, that they would die if they had to live always under a roof? An unnatural desire, say the magistrates and reformers, as they sit in their unwholesome city cages, closed in behind the bars of their shut windows. But it is they who are living an unnatural life, desiring only the levelling of a multiform and irresponsible universe. They are the enemies of nature. They are the enemies of the natural man. The desire of the natural man is to go his own way, a friend among friends, without choice among roads, as all roads lead somewhere, and everywhere there is sun and wind. He has no desire to work for the sake of work, an odious modern creed from which only the Gypsy is traditionally and persistently exempt. He turns his back on great cities, once beautiful and human, now filled with smoke, noise, unnatural speed, degraded into the likeness of a vast machine, creating and devastating soulless bodies for useless tasks. To the natural man the freedom of the Gypsy is like a lesson against civilisation; it shows him that it is still possible to live, do as one likes, thrive, be healthy, and take for one’s pattern the instinctive, untamable life of the animals, which all our whips, leashes, and traces have not beaten out of their souls.

There has been great talk of late of degeneracy, decadence, and what are supposed to be perversities: such as religion, art, genius, individuality. But it is the millionaire, the merchant, the money-maker, the sweater, who are the degenerates of civilisation, and as the power comes into their hands all noble and beautiful things are being crushed out one after another, by some mechanical device for multiplying inferiority. Civilisation, as it was thousands of years ago, in China, in India, was an art of

living, beside whose lofty beauty we are like street urchins scrambling in a gutter. We live to pick up scraps; they lived a tranquil and rational existence. The secret is lost to all the nations of Europe, squabbling about trade, prattling about precedence, forgetting that not only the Sabbath is made for man, but every day of his life. Modern civilisation would make the man for his day, his day of labour. It is the new, worse slavery. The Gypsies have escaped its contamination for thousands of years. Are we to allow the slave-masters to get hold of them at last? Let me end as I began, with Mr. Samuel Roberts and his 'unsealed book.' 'This unconquerable love of freedom,' he reminds us, 'and of the country, is not felt in the same degree, by any other people on the face of the globe, as it is by the Gypsies, universally, and has been so, through all the ages since they were first known. It seems inseparable from their nature, and must have been impressed upon it, for some good purpose, by the Almighty power.' Amen.

III.—THE PRIVILEGES OF GYPSIES

By DAVID MACRITCHIE

THE idea of Gypsies possessing privileges of any kind seems, at the present day, too absurd for serious consideration; at any rate, if we confine our view to the British Islands. When they come hither in any numbers from a foreign country, as they did in 1906, they are hunted from pillar to post by the officers of the law, and they and their wearied horses are sometimes denied the simple privilege of a timely rest. Our own home-bred Gypsies, it is true, are not so persecuted. But their old camps on spacious hillsides and furzy commons, and by woody lanes and dingles, are more and more circumscribed. The policeman, the social reformer, and the man of the school board, all have their eye on the Gypsy; and the best way of 'raising him to our level' is sapiently discussed on platforms and in newspapers. By none of these people is he supposed to possess anything that can be truly called a privilege. And, indeed, those others who admire him for his love of the open air and a strolling life cannot be blind to the fact that therein lies no special privilege, since the open-air life is free to all. This, it may be observed in passing, is a fact that the sages who propose to meet at Berne this summer, in order to devise the best method of suppressing Gypsydom, will

require to keep in mind. It will be difficult to frame a law that will strike at Gypsies and not at the same time strike at the equally harmless parson or doctor on his holiday wanderings, whether on foot or in caravan. That, however, is a detail outside of my present subject.

But there is no doubt that Gypsies at one time possessed privileges of various kinds. I do not here refer to those formerly exercised by Gypsy nobles, with regard to which I contributed a paper to our Journal of October 1907. Those nobles, it would seem, were often, if not invariably, members of the local upper classes, and not Gypsies by blood. Their power, moreover, was directly derived from the supreme authority of the country in which they lived. But other privileges, common to all Gypsies, are frequently indicated. One of these is illustrated, although not precisely proved, by an incident described by Tallemant des Réaux, with reference to 'a famous captain of Gypsies,' named Jean-Charles, who flourished in the south of France in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The influential position held by this Jean-Charles may be realised from the statement of Des Réaux, that he on one occasion 'led four hundred men to Henri iv., who rendered him [the king] good service.' The special incident in question which relates to Jean-Charles and his immediate followers, is thus narrated by Des Réaux:—

'They were lodging in a village, the curé of which was rich and miserly, and much disliked by his parishioners. He never stirred from home, so the Gypsies were unable to get hold of anything of his. What did they do? They pretended that one of their number had committed a crime, and condemned him to be hanged at a place a quarter of a league from the village, to which place they betook themselves with all their baggage. At the gallows the condemned man asked for a confessor, so the curé was sent for. He objected to go, but his parishioners insisted that he should. During his absence some of the Gypsy women entered the vicarage, possessed themselves of five hundred crowns, and quickly rejoined the band. As soon as the supposed criminal saw them, he said that he appealed his case to the King of Little Egypt. "Ah! the traitor!" exclaimed his captain, "I feared that he would appeal." He at once gave orders to truss the baggage; and the Gypsies were a long way off before the curé got home.'¹

One of the chief points of this story is that although the

¹ *Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, Paris, 1862, vi. 302.

alleged criminal was innocent of the crime with which he was supposed to be charged, it was recognised on all hands that his trial was not a matter for the local French tribunal but for the authorities among his own people, who had the power to hang him in the event of his being found guilty. It may be presumed that his imaginary crime was that of murder, committed upon a fellow-Gypsy. Had he been accused of the murder of a Frenchman, that would have been another affair. But the right of Gypsies to bring to trial, and, if deemed right, to execute their fellow-Gypsies, was acknowledged in other European countries. A Scottish reference of the year 1612 shows that, although it was then falling into desuetude, this right was once recognised in Scotland. The occasion was the trial of certain Gypsies before the Sheriff-court of Scalloway for the murder of one of their number. They were duly condemned by that Court, but the advocate who defended them pleaded 'that it was not usual to take cognisance of murder amongst the Egyptians.' In effect, this means that they had been held free to execute members of their community as they pleased, either officially, according to their own laws, or by private murder. That the Scottish Crown clearly admitted the right of the Scottish Gypsies to manage their own affairs, during the sixteenth century, is seen from references already given in these pages.¹ The same article shows that in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Transylvania, and Corfu a like condition of things existed. The earliest specific date there given is that of a letter granted in 1423 by the Emperor Sigismund to 'our faithful Ladislas, Governor of the Cigans,' wherein the Emperor commands his officials throughout the empire to observe that 'if any trouble or disturbance should arise among the Cigans, then none of you whomsoever, but Count Ladislas alone, shall have the power of condemning or acquitting.' Similar evidence comes from Tournai, in Hainault, a year earlier, when the council registers of that town announce the arrival in May 1422 of a company of pilgrims from Egypt. 'And these Egyptians had a king and lords whom they obeyed, and had privileges, so that none could punish them save themselves.'²

So far, I have not obtained distinct evidence of a state of things in England corresponding exactly with that existing in Scotland and the Continental countries named. But England furnishes an interesting statement, which points in the same

¹ October 1907, pp. 107-9.

² *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 331.

direction. We learn from Mr. Crofton¹ that in 1530 the English Parliament passed an Act forbidding the further admission of 'Egyptians' into England. Moreover, the same Act ordained that 'if "any such straunger" thereafter committed any murder, robbery, or other felony, and if, upon being arraigned, he pleaded not guilty, then the jury was to be "altogether of Englysshemen," instead of half Englishmen and half foreigners (*medietatis lingue*), which [Mr. Crofton explains] they were otherwise entitled to claim under 8 Henry vi.—an Act of the year 1436, which in its turn reinforced an Act of 1354. Prior to 1530, therefore, an English Gypsy accused of any murder, robbery, or other felony, and brought to trial for the crime, was entitled to be tried before a jury composed half of Gypsies. It is obvious that this arrangement greatly increased the prisoner's chances of acquittal. These chances were enormously diminished by the enactment of 1530, which decreed that thenceforth the jury should be composed entirely of Englishmen.

The Act just referred to, however, does not preclude the idea that at that time, or earlier, English Gypsies were allowed the power of judging and executing in cases of crime *committed amongst themselves*. It is clear that the Act bears upon cases of murder, robbery, or other felony committed upon English subjects. But it may well be that with the English authorities, as with the Scottish authorities of the same period, 'it was not usual to take cognisance of murder amongst the Egyptians.'

In speaking of the Spanish Gypsies, and particularly of the counts who ruled over them, Borrow says: 'With the counts rested the management and direction of these remarkable societies; it was they who determined what individuals were to be admitted into the fellowship and privileges of the Gitanos.'² Here, again, we have the recognition of the fact that Gypsies formerly possessed privileges which tempted others to join their society. Thus far, the only special privilege which I have shown is their acknowledged right of settling their own difficulties among themselves, even in cases of murder; and further, their right in England to demand a jury composed half of Gypsies, when the accused was a Gypsy. The advantages of this latter arrangement are patent. There is more difficulty in determining how far it was an advantage to be tried for crime before a Gypsy tribunal, instead of by the local authorities. The question greatly depends upon whether Gypsy

¹ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 9.

² *The Zingali*, London, 1841, p. 60.

law was more severe or less severe than the law of the land. In cases of violence it was probably much less severe. In any case, a Gypsy murderer could not be touched by the local magistrates, if his victim was a fellow-Gypsy. That, at least, gave him a respite. And even if Gypsy law condemned him to death, he could still gain time by appealing to 'the King of Little Egypt.' Clearly, there was some advantage in being a Gypsy in those days, especially to a man of violent passions.

But there were other benefits to be gained. This is illustrated by a well-known passage in the life of Jacques Callot. In the year 1604, young Callot, a boy of twelve, ran away from his father's house at Nancy, in the duchy of Lorraine, and set out on foot for Rome, with the intention of studying art. At an early stage of his journey he joined himself to a band of Gypsies, with whom he spent six or eight weeks, travelling with them to Florence. Of some of the leading incidents of this journey he has left an imperishable record in a series of etchings.¹ Now, how did he and his temporary comrades live during that journey? Partly by killing game, partly by money procured in fortune-telling, accompanied by pocket-picking, but chiefly by direct plunder. Callot's pictures show us that he and his comrades never wanted a meal. On the contrary, they lived in great jollity, feasting upon venison, hares, rabbits, beef, mutton, ducks, and poultry. For a penniless boy of twelve, it was an excellent thing to make the journey from Lorraine to Florence as a Gypsy.

Although the year 1604 does not show us the Gypsies in the height of their prosperity, they still retained at that date some of the immunities once accorded to them. They were still allowed a licence that would have been denied to a band of peasants. Aventinus, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and who wrote a history of Bavaria, shows that the Gypsies of his day (a century before Callot) were highly privileged in this respect. 'Robbing and stealing are prohibited to others, under pain of hanging or beheading,' observes Aventinus, 'but these people have licence for them.' Grellmann, in making this quotation,² explains at the same time the original reason which gave rise to this state of things. 'They were looked upon as pilgrims, and it was quite conformable to the custom of those superstitious times to grant to pilgrims, as holy people, all sorts of

¹ Reproduced in *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, vol. ii.

² *Dissertation*, Raper's Eng. tr., London, 1787, p. 103.

passes and safe conducts.' This refers to a period earlier still than the time of Aventinus. 'When,' continues Grellmann, 'in the decree of the Diet at Augsburg, *anno* 1500, all ranks of people in the empire are strictly enjoined in future not to permit the people called Gypsies to travel through their countries and districts, nor to grant them any further protection and convoy, it certainly implies that people had formerly granted them such protection and convoy.' And on a previous page (p. 101), he cites a host of authorities to this effect. Münster, who wrote in the first half of the sixteenth century, 'declares, not only in general terms, that they carried about with them passports and seals, from the Emperor Sigismund and other princes, by means of which they had free passage through different countries and cities; but that he had himself seen an attested copy of such a letter in the possession of some Gypsies at Eberbach. . . . A pass of another King of Hungary, Uladislaus II., which the Gypsies obtained chiefly on account of their supposed sanctity and pilgrimage might be quoted. Wehner says,' he adds, 'that the Gypsies in France likewise quoted ancient privileges, granted to them by the former kings of that country.'¹

However unsuited they may have been to sustain the character, it is quite clear that the Gypsies were once regarded as pious pilgrims, and by this means enjoyed a life of idleness at the expense of others. That they formerly wore the dress of pilgrims is testified to by Peucer in his *Commentarius* (1572), where he thus refers to them: 'Vagatur hinc inde et genus quoddam impostorum, squalida tetraque et deformi specie *et habitu peregrino*, quos recentes Græci Attinganos, nos Zigeunos nominamus.'² During the fifteenth century they were accepted throughout Europe as pilgrims; and to afford them succour was regarded as an act of piety. Thus, in November 1429, the municipal accounts of the town of Arnhem, in Guelderland, record the following items: 'Item, on the eve of St. Andrew's, to the count of Little Egypt [*den Greve van Klijn-Egipten*], with his company, to the honour of God, vi Arnhem guildens; Item, to the same count and to the Heathen women, to the honour of God, a half malder [a corn measure] of white bread, a barrel of beer, and a hundred herrings.' Here, then, it was clearly 'to the honour of God' to

¹ Grellmann, *loc. cit.* He refers (p. 212) to 'Matth. Wehner, *Observationes practicae, sub voc. ZIGEUNER.*'

² Quoted with context in *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, iii. 7 note.

give substantial aid to a band of Gypsies. There are numerous entries in other fifteenth-century records, showing payments in money, food, and drink to Gypsies. At present, however, I shall select those passages which specially denote their acceptance as pilgrims. Another such instance comes from the Netherlands. This was a letter of protection granted in 1496 by Charles, Count of Egmond, under his privy seal, to 'Count Martin Gnougy, born of Little Egypt,' couched in similar terms to those given to Gypsy chiefs by the Emperor Sigismund. It is stated in this letter that the Pope (Alexander VI.) had ordained Count Martin and his family and company 'to go on pilgrimage to Rome, to St. James of Galicia, Compostella, and to other holy places'; and to further this purpose, the Count of Egmond strictly commands all his representatives throughout his principality to succour and protect 'the foresaid Count Martin, his family and company, with their goods, animals, gold, silver, etc., wherever they may go; but with this reservation, that the Gypsies do not stay longer than three days in one place.

The statement in this letter of 1496, that Count Martin and his company were on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella [Santiago de Compostela], among other holy places, recalls an incident of nearly ninety years later, cited by Borrow. It is connected with a town in Spain, not improbably Santiago, in the year 1584, and the reference occurs in a passage from Martin Del Rio, which has already been partially quoted in these pages.¹ 'It happened,' says Del Rio, 'that the feast of Corpus Domini was being celebrated, and they [the Gypsies] requested to be admitted into the town, that they might dance in honour of the sacrifice, as was customary. They did so, but about midday a great tumult arose owing to the many thefts which the women committed, whereupon they fled out of the suburbs, and assembled about St. Mark's, the magnificent mansion and hospital of the knights of St. James, where the ministers of justice attempting to seize them were repulsed by force of arms; nevertheless, all of a sudden, and I know not how, everything was hushed up.' It is scarcely conceivable that ordinary town thieves, in escaping from the police, would have sought such a refuge; or that, had they done so, the police would have found themselves repulsed by force of arms. Still less likely is it that common thieves would have escaped scot-free; the whole affair being suddenly hushed up. A parallel

¹ Page 99.

incident is recorded as having taken place at Geneva in 1532, when a band of three hundred Gypsies attacked the town officers, who were stationed at Pleinpalais to prevent their entrance. A force of citizens coming to the rescue, the Gypsies retired to the monastery of the Augustin Friars, in which they fortified themselves and sustained a siege. Why should the Gypsies have chosen sacred places as castles of refuge? It seems tolerably clear, in each of these cases, that their right to do so rested upon their claim to be regarded as pilgrims. A third scene, enacted at Cheppe, near Châlons-sur-Marne, in 1453, bears a close resemblance to the two just described. On that occasion, some sixty or eighty Gypsies, coming from Courtisolles, were refused admission to the town. 'During their unwilling retreat,' says Lacroix, 'they were pursued by many of the inhabitants of the town, one of whom killed a Gypsy named Martin de la Barre. The murderer, however, obtained the king's pardon.' That the king's pardon should have been necessary in such a case is a fact of some significance.

Although any real or pretended claim to special piety has been long ago relinquished by Gypsies as a class, it is a remarkable fact that certain sections of them still make an annual pilgrimage in May to the church of Les Saintes Maries (Bouches-du-Rhône), the crypt of which, by immemorial usage, is exclusively reserved for them during the series of services then held.¹ This is obviously a survival of the time when, whatever may have been the motives which actuated them, Gypsies periodically visited the various shrines of Europe. Evidences of this practice, in addition to those already cited, might be largely multiplied. For example, an anti-Gypsy edict, issued by Francis I. of France in 1539, describes these people as wandering about 'under cover of a simulated religion and of a certain penitence.' It is quite possible that both the religion and the penitence were simulated. Yet it may be noted that in England their pilgrim character continued to be at least partially recognised during the sixteenth century; if one may judge from such a detail as the action of the churchwardens of Stratton, in Cornwall, who received payment from 'Egyptions' in 1522, 1559, 1560, and 1561, for lodgings granted to them in the Church House.

In the fifteenth century, however, the claim of 'Egyptians' to be regarded as Christian pilgrims was amply acknowledged. In September 1427, Thomas, an earl of Little Egypt, received eight

¹ See pp. 92-95, *ante*.

livres parisis from the corporation of Amiens 'to help him and his people, to the number of forty persons or thereabouts, all excluded and driven out of the country of Egypt by infidels; seeing that by letters Our Holy Father the Pope gives, and has given, great indulgences and pardons to those who give alms to the said Thomas and to those of his company.' As at Arnhem in 1429, money or food given to the earl of Little Egypt was given 'to the honour of God,' and the deed brought a special spiritual benefit to the donor.

In August 1427, twelve *penanciers*, a duke, an earl, and ten men all on horseback, who said that they were good Christians, and were from Lower Egypt, arrived in Paris. It is stated that they bore letters from the Pope, authorising every bishop and mitred abbot to make them a payment of ten *livres tournois*. Twelve days later, their followers, to the number of a hundred or a hundred and twenty, arrived on the outskirts of Paris, where they remained for ten days. It is not stated whether they actually received money and food as alms due to pilgrims. But in 1419, Andrew, a duke of Little Egypt, with a hundred and twenty followers, had received gifts of money, wine, and bread from the town of Macon. The municipality of Frankfurt-on-the-Main gave bread and meat to 'the wandering people from Little Egypt' in 1418; and in the same year the Saxon Count of Herrmannstadt, in Transylvania, granted 'to the people from the Holy Land food and fodder for their horses, worth eight denars.' In 1417 the noble Transylvanian family of Horvath presented forty sheep 'to the poor pilgrims out of Egypt, in order that they, returning to Jerusalem, may pray for the health of our souls.' And, for like reasons, the town of Kronstadt, Transylvania, voted a sum of money, corn, and poultry to 'Lord Emaus from Egypt and his two hundred and twenty comrades,' in the year 1416. There can be no doubt, from these and other references, that the people of Little Egypt were at one time regarded in the light of genuine pilgrims, by popes and princes, nobles, citizens, and peasants; with the attendant consequence that they received substantial aid, in food, drink, and money, wherever they went. A great deal turns upon this prosaic fact.

¹ Most of the passages cited above and in the subsequent pages will be found, with detailed reference to sources, in Paul Bataillard's series of articles contributed to *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, vols. i. and ii. The others are taken from J. Dirks's *De Heidenen of Egyptiërs* (Utrecht, 1850), Lacroix's *Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages* (London, 1876, p. 462), and Von Wlislöck's *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), pp. 12-14.

The above extracts have been selected for the purpose of showing how Gypsies formerly bore the character of pilgrims, journeying to and from the holy places in Europe and Palestine. As such, they were entitled to receive alms, in obedience to the religious ideas of the time and the direct commands of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. There are many other references to payments made to Gypsies which, although the grounds are frequently not stated, are clearly traceable to the same cause. From the old records of the town of Deventer, in the Netherlands, we learn that in the year 1429 a company of 'the people of Little Egypt' received free lodging in a building known as the *Want-Huis*, which appears to have been specially reserved for them and their kindred. For, according to Molhuijsen, this building was also called the *Heidens-Huis*, or, in English, 'The Gypsies' House.' 'It was a house in which foreign merchants deposited their fishing-tackle, which they thus secured from taxation,' observes Bataillard;¹ and he adds: 'This house was situated near the old Town Hall, at the corner of Polstraat; it became later on the Town Hall itself.' This, then, was kept as the temporary home of any of 'the people of Little Egypt' who might visit Deventer. It is not quite clear whether those who had been there nine years earlier had been accommodated in the same building, for in that instance they are said to have slept in a 'barn.' The earlier visit is thus recorded in the municipal account-book of Deventer in 1420:—

'Out of charity, to the Lord Andreas, duke of Little Egypt. On a Wednesday after *Reminiscere* (6th March), to the said lord, who had been driven out of his country on account of the Christian faith, and had come to our town with a hundred persons, men, women, and children, and about forty horses; he having letters from the King of the Romans, containing an invitation to give them alms, and to treat them with kindness in all the countries where they might go: given by order of our magistrates, 25 florins. *Item*, to the same for bread, beer, herrings and smoked herrings, for cost of the carriage of the beer, for straw, for cleaning out the barn in which they slept, [paid] to Berend, who conducted them as far as Goor, etc., in all, 19 florins 10 placks.'²

¹ His information being obtained from Molhuijsen. See *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 34. *Want-Huis* signifies tackle-house.

² The Dutch *plak*, Scotch *plack*, French *plaque*, was a small copper coin of the period, about one-third of a penny. The above passage is given by Bataillard, *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 328-9.

As Bataillard points out, two of the features common to the visits of 1420 and 1429 were that on each occasion the town furnished a guide to the visitors on their departure, and on each occasion their temporary residence was found to need cleansing. The entry of 1429 states that a fee of ten placks was paid to a certain 'Gosen for having cleaned out the *Want-Huis*, in which the people from Little Egypt had lodged, and to a guide named Hubert for having conducted these *Heidens* to Wie' (Wijhe). Deventer chronicles several subsequent visits of the Gypsies; for the town paid fifteen guldens to 'the king of Little Egypt, with his company,' in 1438, and again twelve guldens in 1439 to 'the duke of Egypt, with his people, who lodged in the *Want-Huis*'; while in 1441 'the king of the *Heidens*, with his company,' received ten guldens. Whatever hospitality the townsfolk felt impelled to offer the Gypsies, it is evident that the latter were not welcome visitors. For on hearing of the approach of a similar company in 1445, the magistrates of Deventer sent messengers with a sum of money for the strangers, given on the distinct understanding that the latter should pass on their way without coming within the walls of the town. This course of procedure was followed also by the burghers of Middelburg (near Flushing) in 1460. For on learning that Constantine, Count of Egypt, was then at the neighbouring town of Goes, with a company of Greeks,¹ the Middelburg authorities sent a gift of ten schellings to them, 'in order that they may not come here.'

The archives of Middelburg, like those of other towns in the Low Countries, contain several references to Gypsies. On the 21st of February 1430, Middelburg paid twenty schellings out of the public purse to a certain count or duke (*hertoghe*) of Little Egypt, who stated that he 'had come here to receive alms, having letters from the Pope, which allow him to travel throughout the land for five years.' In the following January, Middelburg also paid three Burgundian guldens to the *hertoghe van Egipten*, 'because he was the bearer of letters from our gracious lord of Burgundy (Philip).' Twenty years later, the 'Egyptians' stabled their horses in the high school of Middelburg. In 1460 the Middelburgers staved off an Egyptian visit by bribery, as already mentioned. Sixty-four years later, they took higher ground; for their records show that in February 1524 Sebastian Faisan

¹ Greek Gypsies, of course. In the Constitution of Catalonia, of the year 1512, Gypsies are styled 'Bohemians, Greeks, and Egyptians.'

and Baron Wiltosia, *Gyptenaers*, were banished from the town for three years on account of their riotous conduct.

Continuing to look at the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, we find that the town of Utrecht has the following entry in its municipal accounts in October 1429:—'Given to the duke of Lower Egypt, who had come into our town with the Heidens, having a written permission from the Pope to visit the Christian land, iv jars of wine'—valued at four pounds sixteen schellings. It may have been this same company to whom the town of Tournai, in Hainault, had given such a notable reception in the previous spring. By order of the authorities of Tournai there was a placard posted up in the town, on 23rd March 1429, in these terms:—

'Let no person whatsoever do or say to the great Earl of Little Egypt or his people, who, to the number of sixty or thereabouts [have been] driven out of their country by the infidels, and who, by licence of the magistrates of this town, intend to sojourn therein for four or five days, any injury, wrong, or displeasure, in body or in goods, in any way whatsoever, under pain of being put into the prisons of this town, and banished at the discretion of the said magistrates, but keep them peaceable by the giving of alms (if one has this devotion) to such as require them.'

Probably no document in the literature of Gypsy history illustrates more forcibly than this placard the changed and sunken position of the Gypsies of to-day. Imagine the magistrates of any modern European town formally announcing the expected arrival of a band of sixty Gypsies, threatening with imprisonment and banishment any citizen who should do or even say anything to injure or displease them, and inviting the piously-disposed to placate them by giving them alms!

The magistrates of Tournai set the citizens an excellent example. On the day after their placard was posted up they voted a sum of eight *livres tournois* to this great Earl of Little Egypt and his people, and sent them besides 'eight lots [? jars] of wine for the earl, three measures of wheat, four casks of beer, fifty faggots, and two hundred herrings.'

The municipal accounts of Tournai had borne witness to a similar hospitality eight years earlier; as may be seen from the following entry of 30th September 1421 (or perhaps some days later, there being a little uncertainty as to the exact date):—

'To Sir Miquiel, prince of Latinghem in Egypt, as [? alms,—the word is wanting in the text] made to him out of pity and compassion, for the sustaining of him and several other men and women of his company who were driven out of their country by the Saracens because they had turned to the Christian faith: xii. gold *moutons* [i.e. coins stamped with the Agnus Dei], worth xiii. livres. *Item*, for a *rasière* of bread which was given in common to the said Egyptians, xxxv.s. *Item*, for a barrel of *ambours* [a sort of beer] also given to them xvii.s. vi.d. The said portions amounting to xvi.l. xii.s. vi.d.'

Although these various references do not exhaust the list bearing upon this subject, sufficient evidence has now been adduced to show that Gypsies not only asserted themselves to be pilgrims, but they were so accepted by most of the people of Europe. The effect of this was that they did not require to do any regular work. At every town they came to they could count upon receiving gifts of food, liquor, and often money; and quarters were frequently allotted to them, with stabling and fodder for their horses. Occupations they had, of a sort, by which they further increased their gains. Several of these are specified by a chronicler of Tournai who describes a visit of 'Egyptians' to that town in 1422, and his account is so instructive, following as it does upon his statement that they were pilgrims on a seven-years' journey, that it can hardly be omitted here. 'Most of them lived by pilfering, especially the women, who were ill-clothed, and entered the houses, some asking alms, and others bargaining for some sort of merchandise. And it was with difficulty that one could be on one's guard against them without losing something. And there were some who, the better to deceive foolish men and women, pretended to foretell the future, such as the having of children, or of being soon or well married, or of having good or bad luck, and many other such deceits. And while they were thus abusing the belief of many people, the children cut the purses of those who were too attentive to their charms, or they themselves, with the hand with which they seemed to hold a child (which they did not do, for the child was supported by a band put on as a sling, covered over with a blanket, and this hand was free), purloined artfully without its being perceived. The men were sufficiently well dressed. The greater number of them occupied themselves with the buying and selling of horses, and they were such skilful horsemen that a horse appeared very much better under them

than under other men.¹ And thus by *heudelant* [? horse-chanting or wheedling] and deceiving, they often got a better horse than their own, and money into the bargain. And some of these men, when they bought some merchandise, gave a florin in payment, and on receiving their change were so skilful with their hand, confusing and cheating the people, or asking for other money than that which was given them, that none escaped without loss. And often, when they had stolen what they could, they would not take the merchandise, pretending not to know the money that had been given them in exchange.²

Such, then, were some of the advantages which fifteenth-century Gypsies possessed over ordinary Europeans. Did they commit any crime—murder, robbery, or other felony—against another Gypsy, they were not amenable to the laws of any European country, but had the admitted right of trial before their own tribunals. In England, until 1530, a Gypsy who murdered or robbed an Englishman could demand a jury composed half of Gypsies. Thus, an English Gypsy occupied a more advantageous position than an Englishman of like tendencies. To such an Englishman there was some temptation to become affiliated with the Gypsies, if that could be done. These reasons, however, bear special reference to acts of crime, and comparative immunity from their consequences. When we come to look at the ordinary daily life of the Gypsies, the prospect is still more alluring—to people averse to hard work and a plodding existence, combined with obligations due to the country of their birth. For the Gypsy was accepted throughout Europe as a pilgrim, and the mediæval pilgrim was a chartered beggar, receiving alms from simple folk, who conceived that such gifts were ‘to the honour of God.’ And when those alms proved insufficient for the hungry pilgrims, as must often have been the case, they readily supplemented their income by open robbery, furtive theft, and fortune-telling. This they succeeded in doing almost with impunity. For as Aventinus remarked, ‘robbing and stealing are prohibited to others, under pain of hanging or beheading, but these people have licence for them.’ Moreover, they were permitted to keep hunting-dogs, and to kill whatever game they came across, rights denied to all but kings and nobles.

¹ This statement vividly recalls Mr. Sampson’s account of the Continental Gypsies at Blackpool in the October number of our Journal, p. 114, and shows how one, at least, of the Gypsy characteristics has remained unaltered during five centuries.

² Quoted by Bataillard, *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 331-2.

There were, therefore, several excellent reasons why, before the days of severe anti-Gypsy legislation, people whose inclination led them to prefer a wandering life, free from the restrictions of citizenship, should desire to join the Gypsies. That there were many people so inclined is undoubted. As I have already noted, one of the functions of the Gypsy counts in Spain was to determine 'what individuals were to be admitted into the fellowship and privileges of the Gitanos.' Borrow's statement applies to Spain, but it is equally applicable to other countries. For example, Mr. Crofton's *Early Annals of the Gypsies in England*¹ shows that it was at one time quite a frequent thing for Englishmen to become Gypsies by affiliation. This is seen from an Act of the English Parliament, by which, 'after 1st May 1562, any person who for a month "at one time or at several times" was in the company of Gypsies, and imitated their apparel, speech, or other behaviour, should, as a felon, suffer death and loss of lands and goods, without the benefits of a jury, *medietatis linguæ*, sanctuary, or "clergy" [*i.e.* the plea of being an educated man or "clerk," testified to by the ability to read and write]. . . . No natural born subjects, however, were to be compelled to quit England or Wales, but only to leave their naughty ways, and in future to labour honestly.' The terms of the Act are somewhat contradictory, but it clearly shows that many Englishmen of that date were accustomed to associate with Gypsies, in the character of Gypsies. Mr. Crofton cites two special instances illustrating this fact:—'In 1594 William Standley, Francis Brewerton, and John Weeks, of London, yeomen, were sentenced to be hanged "because they had consorted for a month with Egyptians." On August 28, 1594, they were pardoned "for counterfeiting themselves Egyptians, contrarie to the Statute." A few years later, Joan Morgan was sentenced to be hanged for a similar offence.'

The question of 'counterfeit Egyptians' is, however, complex as well as interesting, and cannot be properly considered within my present limits.

¹ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 16, 21.

IV.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 4. *Ō Vēnd*

A rudely pencilled sketch on the last page of the notebook in which this tale is written down calls up again the pleasant spot where I heard it from Matthew Wood in the summer of 1896. The place is Abergynolwyn, a tiny village three miles from Tal-y-llyn lake, in the heart of that Wood country which John Roberts tells us the Woods and Ingrams 'first took a liking to on account of rivers and other things.' And in this *bīta vīja*, according to Romani tradition, was born that good harper Adam Wood, a grandson of Abram, the founder of the race, and father of my old friend the *bāro bašimāyerō*, Edward Wood, from whom I first learned Welsh Romani. The little hill on which we are seated is Foel Fawr; below us lies the valley sheltered by wooded hills, and watered by the Afon Dysinni flowing from Matthew's beloved lake, and fed by mountain streams rising in the upper slopes of Cader. We can see the haymakers wending their way back to Caer-berllan. At our feet rests the rustic two-storied inn where my evenings are enlivened with *bošibēn* and *giibēn*. Matthew, for my delectation, has produced an old fiddle, and, with true Gypsy ingenuity, has improvised a bow from an ash plant and hairs plucked from the tail of a cart horse. In this *Wolšūtika t'em* every one sings, every one loves music, and music is a pass-key to brotherhood. Most evenings see a merry gathering in the little *kirēima*, and more than one have we prolonged into the small hours of the morning, sitting in the old tiled kitchen from whose low beams hang fragrant herbs, strings of onions, and smoke-dried hams. The *vījigerē* chant pennillion, to the tunes of *Nos Galon* and *Mockyn Du*, our burly host gives a stentorian rendering of the noble anthem *Mae hen wlad*, his little daughters, mounted on the table, warble Welsh hymnody, and the apple-cheeked, sloe-haired farm-maids sing ('sweetly too') traditional airs of the peasantry. Manfri Wood, called on for a song, gives us *Kyrie Elcīeson*—the Woods are devout Roman Catholics, and this Gypsy lad once sang in the chapel choir.

Later I find my Romani studies have excited the wonder and curiosity of the village, and one day while I am at dinner there is a knock at my door, and I discover a deputation waiting to interview me. Their spokesman has a question to propound. 'Beg you pardon, sir, if I am so bold to ask, but we see you with the *Sipsien*, and we read in newspaper about them, and we would like to know very much if you are Mister K-U-N-O.'—August name! only to be reverently pronounced, letter by letter—plainly Professor Meyer must have been enforcing the philological importance of Romani in one of his presidential addresses at the Eisteddfodau. No, I confess I am not Mr. 'K-U-N-O,' but I share a reflected glory in having known that great man, and draw a romantic picture of his life and adventures, habits and manners, and personal appearance, which enthalls every ear, and would have astonished the renowned Celtic scholar had he heard it. The deputation expresses its gratification and delight, and retires with respectful obeisance, leaving me to continue my meal.

I have a pleasant reminder of Groome's reading these Welsh Gypsy stories in the note 'Catherine and Frederick in Grimm' pencilled in his crabbéd but distinctive writing opposite the Romani title *Ō Vēnd*. In his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. 266, he calls attention to the fact that Winter is the name of a Northumbrian Gypsy family, and also of German Gypsies.

I append to this story an abstract of a long Welsh Gypsy variant *Kālō Vārdēsō Gōi* (Barley Dumpling) taken down by Miss M. E. Lyster from Betsy (Siani) Wood, a grand-daughter of the famous Alabáina. The belief in ordeals

of a similar kind to that recorded in the closing incident of this version has survived among some of our English Gypsies to the present day, as an experience of my own shows. Lovers of Scott will remember his use of the ordeal of the bier in *The Fair Maid of Perth* when Bonthron is confronted with the body of the murdered bonnet-maker. In a note to this passage Scott remarks: 'The belief that the corpse of a murdered person would bleed on the touch, or at the approach of the murderer, was universal among the northern nations. We find it seriously urged in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, so late as 1688, as an evidence of guilt.'

Well, it is not so many years ago that in a little-frequented spot, where none but the initiate would seek, I came upon the van and tent of Simpronius Bohemia Boswell, and in his company was a young man wearing his left arm in a sling, whom I recognised at once as one of the Taylors, a Cheshire tribe with a not undeserved reputation for general lawlessness. There was no mistaking the tall, powerful figure—the Lockes and Taylors are our two tallest families—and small snake head, which, with its closely cropped hair, formed such a contrast to Booy's long glossy ringlets. 'A new *stiffo-chor*,' thought I, for Booy's sons-in-law changed frequently, his docile daughters never seeming to question the paternal right to dismiss a son-in-law with whom he had quarrelled and replace him by another. 'It seems to me,' said I, 'that I know this young man.' 'No, my dear child,' said Booy soothingly, 'however should you have a knowledge to him? No one in dese parts has so much as see him before; dis is one of de Prices from South Wales come up for a day or two to pay me and my old 'oman a visit.' But later as we sat together in the tent a grimy newspaper was produced, and I was invited to read aloud an account of a poaching fray in which one keeper had been badly injured and another left for dead, while three Gypsies had been captured and a fourth had so far managed to evade custody. Oddly enough the delinquents were all Taylors, and the legal point upon which my opinion was desired was set forth by Booy with a fine moral air worthy of Palmer's 'Preaching Charlie.'

'Suppose now,' said he, 'dis poor *weshéngro* was to *mer*, how will de *pokinyos* know which of dose *wafedo tarno mushes* killed him?' The old woman was unshakable in her belief that the corpse would be laid out in court, while all the suspected persons standing round would be compelled to touch it one by one, and that blood would flow from the dead body at the touch of the murderer. But Booy, though he himself preserves many curious beliefs, such as that 'tapping a birch-tree' to extract its gum is a crime punishable by death (presumably a tradition dating back to the old forestry laws), inclined to the contrary opinion. 'Dere den, don't be so ignorant, 'oman; we all knows, don't we, rye, dat way ain't been tried for years and years?' and he went on to propound some solution of his own equally remote from modern judicial procedure. The argument between the two raged with fury for the greater part of an hour, but I fancied the topic of conversation was a peculiarly uncongenial one to 'Mr. Price' from South Wales, as he sat, gloomy and silent, smoking his pipe at the back of the tent.

Ô VEND

WINTER

*Bitā ēōrvanō kēr munjerdē*¹ A mean little house in a
*tanēsti,*² *lā pūrō, lā pūrī.* Ūr- lonely place, and an old man,
vanē. Ō pūrō kēlās būtt. Ō gājē and an old woman. They were
na denas les kek būt lōvō. Rīger- poor. The old man went to

¹ *munjerdē*] Why *munjerdō*, used of a place, should mean 'lonely' or 'solitary' I am unable to explain; the verb *munjerdāva* means 'I squeeze,' 'pinch,' 'deal unfairly with.'

² (*andēsti*) prepositional used locatively. See Mik. xii. p. 32, f) 2.

énas poſ leſtē arē þurē ʒolováti. Kēdās oǵ bērsēyī.¹ Pukadās ī þuriákī: 'Te rigerés² 'dová ī vendéski.'

Ō þuró sas avrí yek divés. 'Vīás þurō dromégerō k'ō hudár te maǵél. K'árdās les ī þurí atré, tā diás les kuſi ʒobén.

P'uētās leskō nav. 'Mīrō nav sī Vend, ʒoē'ō þurō. 'Vend sī tīrō nav? 'Kái sī bāt lōvó tukī.' G'as ī þurī, tā diás les ī ʒolov sunakái. Traſadó sas ō þurō Vend. 'Yas ī ʒolov tā gyas peskī.

K'ērē 'vīás ō þuriákō rom, beſtās talé. 'Akái sas ō Vend, ʒoē'ī þurī, 'te lel ō lōvó. 'Sō þenésa?' ʒoē'ō þurō. 'Dián ō lōvō komonéski?' 'Aua, ʒoē'ī þurī. 'P'urō mūrſ'vīás akái, tā Vend kār'las pes,³ dióm les ī ʒolów.'

'Kēdán meyī 'kaná, ʒoē'ō þurō. 'Jasa meyī. Avrí gilé, muklé ō kēr, tā 'yas ō þurō hudár 'prē ō dumō te sovén top leſtī.

Gilé 'prē ō drom, tā ses len

work. People gave him but little money. Half of it they kept in an old stocking. Thus he did for years. Said he to the old woman: 'Keep that for winter.'

The old man was out one day. There came an old wayfarer to the door to beg. The old woman called him in and gave him a little food.

She asked his name. 'My name is Winter,' quoth the old man. 'Is Winter thy name? Here is much money for thee.' The old woman went, she gave him the stocking full of gold. Old Winter was amazed. He took the stocking and departed.

The old woman's husband came home and sat down. 'Winter was here for the money,' quoth the old woman. 'What sayest thou?' quoth the old man. 'Hast thou given the money to some one?' 'Yes,' quoth the old woman. 'An old man came here and called himself Winter. I gave him the stocking.'

'Thou hast done for us now!' quoth the old man. 'Let us away from here.' They went out, they left the house: he took the old door upon his back to sleep on.

They went along the road,

¹ *bērsēyī*] for *bērsād* = Eng. idiom 'for years.'

² *te rigerés*] lit. 'that thou keepest.' Had Matthew said *te rigerél* the translation would read: 'He told the old woman to keep that for Winter.'

³ *kār'las pes*] lit. 'he was calling himself.' Similarly Edward Wood once rendered 'a city called Nain' by *ō gav te kār'nas Nain*, 'the city that they were calling Nain.'

pošera kek. Ratī 'vyas 'prē len. Junénas kek 'kái te jan. 'Vilē kī þurī rukéstī. 'Akái sovása 'karát. Opré gyas ō þurō ī hudārésa, lā 'yas ī þurī opré, lā 'dói sutilé.

Kuna sig šundē godlī pīr-éndē.¹ 'Akē komónī 'vela, 'xoč'ō þurō ī þurīákī. 'Ač konyō lā þen ēī tī mēribenáskī! ' Ō þurō čídás peskō šērō te vartín.²

Dikás mūršén te 'vilē talál rukéstī. 'Akē tan te kēn yog. Šukó sī 'kái. 'Xobén wontsénas ō mūrš.³ Xolē. Kedē te xon.

Ō šernō mūrš þendás ī vaver-éyi te tårdén ō lōvō. Čídē les sār talē. Ak'ō mūrš ginēla les. 'Dói sas būt sunakái te lūrdē. Dīús kušī sákon yekéskī. Riger-dás yov dosta kokoréskī.

Čijerénas vaverkénsa trušul ō lōvō. Činimáj'rī; wontsénas te páravén lā. 'Lava te páráva lā, te java mē k'ō bej te páráva lā.'

Sō keka sas ō lav þenulilō, ō

and they had not a halfpenny. Night came upon them. They knew not whither to go. They came to an old tree. 'We shall sleep here to-night.' Up went the old man with the door, he got the old woman up, and there they slept.

Presently they heard the sound of feet. 'Some one is coming,' quoth the old man to the old woman. 'Be still and say nothing for thy life!' The old man put his head out to watch.

He saw men coming beneath the tree. 'Here is a place to kindle a fire; it is dry here.' The men wanted food. They ate. They made an end.

The captain told the others to bring out the money. They put it all down. Lo! the man was counting it. There was much gold that they had stolen. He gave a little to every one. He kept much for himself.

They fell out with one another about the money. There was a sovereign; they wanted to change it. 'I will have it changed, if I go to the devil to change it.'

As soon as the word was

¹ *þiréndē*] lit. 'from feet.'

² *vartín*] subj. pres. 3rd per. sing. from *vartasína*. In W. Rom. verb stems in -in (Mik. x. p. 89, § 5) occur only in the 3rd persons sing. and plur. of the pres., indic. or subj., of loan-verbs. The rest of the verb is conjugated from the stem in -as (Mik. x. p. 91, § 7), with the exception of the imp. in -sar (Mik. x. p. 90, § 6).

³ *ō mūrš*] In W. Rom., as in most of the Continental dialects, original nouns terminating in a consonant often remain unchanged in the plural; the sense, as in this instance, being determined by the verb. See Mik. xi. p. 4, § 4 *sqq.*, Pott, i. pp. 156-8.

purō mukdās ō hudār te perr'l talé. 'Tū kārđán ī beğés. Akēkó 'viás!' Trašadé tā pras-tilé; mukdē sār odói.

said, the old man let the door fall down. 'Thou hast called the devil. Behold he has come!' They were terrified and ran; they left everything there.

Ō purō t'i purī niserdē talé. 'Akē dosta meñi,' xoč'ō purō, 'te rigeréla men vendēñi.'

The old man and woman got down. 'Here is enough to keep us for many winters,' quoth the old man.

Pdlē gilē kī purō kēr ī lōv-éša. T'ā 'dói jivéna 'kand, tinī mērdē kek.

They went back to the old house with the money. And there they live now, if they are not dead.

BARLEY DUMPLING

An old man and his half-witted sister lived together in a little thatched cottage. He brought all his gains to her, telling her to save that for winter [*sār tūrdāva mái kērd tuki, te čivés anrē ō gonō te rigerásas les, 'mē dūi, poštē 'vela ō vend*]. One night he ate cold barley dumplings and drank cold milk for his supper, for they had no better fare; then he went out. 'Make me some more barley dumplings.' He stole much treasure from the castle of a band of thieves. When he returned, 'Winter was here,' said his sister. 'What sayest thou?' 'An old man came begging to the door, he said his name was Winter, I gave him the money as thou toldest me to do.' 'We are done for now!' said her brother. The barley dumplings were on the table, he took and threw them at her. He hit her on the face. They were hot. The louder she cried out, the faster he threw. He heard a great noise and went to the door, there he found the thieves whom he had robbed. They bound him hand and foot, and they took him and his sister, and they carried them away. The man they threw into a dark cellar, but the sister escaped and hid herself in a cupboard. The thieves caroused until late into the night drinking success to their robbery. Then they took the road and went away to rob. The sister found her brother: 'At midnight look over thy left shoulder, thou wilt see something.' He looked and stood still as a frozen tree [*čas sār ruk šilālō k'ō fan*]. A dead man arose in the corner and spoke: 'I was killed by the robber many years ago, for long I have been sought. Look, here is the knife with which he killed me. Take the knife, open it with thy teeth, go before the magistrate [*bāredér mūrš*] in the town, tell him to hold the knife up to the sun, blood will fall from it.' They went to the town and in to the magistrate. 'Hold this knife up to the sun.' Blood dripped from the knife. Two or three men passed before the knife, the robber came, the blood spurted towards him [*ō rat oxtiás anrē leskō mūi*]. 'There is the murderer. Come, I will show you where the man is buried.' They went, they found the place, the man lay there with his throat cut, his hat and boots beside him. The brother and sister got much treasure, they gave to the poor, never again did they need to eat barley dumplings.

'I'm done now.'

V.—GYPSY 'CIVILISATION'¹

BY E. O. WINSTEDT

TO a dreamer of dreams and a doubter of doubts contented to be 'earth's native' without rearranging it, one of the strangest features of our boasted civilisation is the very uncivil way its active members have of forcing their own ideas and ideals on their neighbours without a thought as to their capacity to receive them or a qualm as to the expediency of making them do so. Not content with thanking God that they are not as other men are, in their self-righteousness they would have all other men be even as themselves, so far at least as other men's weaker capacity may enable them to attain to such superlative heights. Esau must herd with Jacob and follow his plodding ways, however the hot blood may course through his veins when the sun is in the sky and the wind is on the heath. Nature's child must conform to man's rules, and wed himself for better or worse—though the prospect that it may perchance be for worse never seems to occur to the minds of any save those who dream and doubt—to the complex machinery of civilised life. Consequently legislators, whose thoughts run on taxes and tithes, divines, whose care is for souls, sentimentalists, who cannot face the naked realities of life with a light and cheerful heart, educators, whose education is sufficiently limited for them to feel pride in it, all who have loaded their lives with the burdens man has laid on man, one and all must needs reform and 'civilise' the light-hearted bohemian and Gypsy, because his only wish is to live his life in freedom of soul, with no care for convention, welfare, or even comfort such as we poor creatures of custom conceive it.

The methods of reform suggested or practised vary with manners and with the point of view of the particular reformers; and some that have been used are not likely to be resorted to again. It is hardly probable, for instance, that any one will now propose to cure the vagrant humour by the prescription frequently laid down in olden days, a thorough and systematic course of blood-letting at the cart's tail through thorp and town; or to 'larn' Gypsies to be Gypsies as the gardener 'larned' the frog the error

¹ I must express my sincerest thanks to the various members who have rendered me assistance in the shape of books lent or offered and information given to me while preparing this article. I am especially indebted to Mr. Watts-Dunton, Provost M'Cormick, and Mr. C. A. Booth.

of his froggish ways, by summary execution. Indeed, it would seem unnecessary to mention such measures at all were it not that recent legislation with regard to the Gypsies shows a striking tendency to revert to antique types, tried and found wanting both in humanity and in practical results centuries ago.

At the close of the fifteenth century the first fiat of banishment went forth from King Ferdinand of Spain: and for the next hundred years the Gypsies were bandied from one to another of the European nations like baseballs; and the only result of the twenty or thirty proclamations of banishment¹ during that period is that they are pretty evenly distributed over all the nations which have repeatedly ejected them. Yet now in the twentieth century Germany² is practising the same antiquated method of dealing with them and giving the same antiquated reasons for her conduct: that, forsooth, the Gypsies are child-stealers³ and spies.⁴ They might have added cannibals, and completed the mediæval mares' nests. France and Switzerland, more considerate to their neighbours' children, would banish them entirely from Europe; whither I know not, perhaps to join their brother *boshimangro* in the moon. Their reasons are not as yet made public: probably they regard them as 'undesirable aliens.' But if length of sojourn in a land makes one cease to be an alien, they can hardly be regarded as aliens in a country such as England, where they have lived twice as long as the present reigning family. Nor is their undesirability beyond dispute. Grellmann long ago pointed out that banishment was a wasteful policy: and even if the Gypsies do not pay rates and taxes in a regular way, many of them 'pay at a very much higher rate. It is clear profit to the state when the fair ground is farmed out for £250, to be paid for by only two days' occupation.'⁵ Besides, if they do not contribute the same

¹ Lucas, *The Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, Kelso, 1882, p. 105 *et seq.*

² *Birmingham Daily Post*, January 11, 1908, quoting from the *New York Tribune*.

³ One of the most persistent and most groundless libels on the Gypsies, sufficiently answered by Gipsy Smith's statement that his great-uncle had thirty-one children and one of his uncles twenty-four, and he had never heard of their wishing to add to the number by kidnapping (*Gipsy Smith, His Life and Work, by Himself*, London, 1903, p. 36). Cf. also Crofton, *Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire*, in Manchester Literary Club, *Papers*, vol. iii., Manchester, 1877, p. 40.

⁴ A charge seldom or never brought against the Gypsies save in Germany, but frequently there. Cf. J. Watts de Peyster, *Gypsies: Some Curious Investigations collected . . . concerning this . . . Race*, Edinburgh, 1887, pp. 9, 20 (spies for the Turks), 50 (for the Sultan of Egypt!); R. Liebich, *Die Zigeuner*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 5. Liebich (p. 26) seems to think they may have been spies, as they were later used in that capacity with success by Wallenstein.

⁵ Rev. J. Howard Swinstead, *A Parish on Wheels*, London, 1897, p. 50.

amount to the state, they do not make the same demands on it as the native poor. Gypsies seldom call on the workhouse or the poor-rate: they do not agitate for old age pensions, free schooling for their children, free feeding for them, free clothing for them, free everything. They have reduced their own living expenses till they can support themselves with the smallest possible amount of labour, a legitimate and inoffensive enough object, and one which would seem to merit mild treatment, if not encouragement. Harsh measures, at any rate, are not likely to improve them, and are a distinct retrogression, coming as they do after milder treatment.

The first systematic attempt to deal less harshly with the wanderers was that of the Empress Maria Theresia of Austria, who in 1767 published a decree prohibiting them from dwelling in tents, from wandering about the land, from dealing in horses, from eating *mulo mas*, from electing their own *vayvode*, and from using the *Romani* language. They were granted some months to settle in villages or towns, where they were to pass under the title of *Uj Magyar* (New Boors), and to choose and practise trades. How a man who had never practised a trade was to choose one and become proficient in it *da oggi a domani*, 'between to-day and to-morrow,' as Colocci puts it, the good Empress did not explain. Perhaps the Gypsies felt the difficulty: at any rate they took no notice whatsoever of her kind invitation to come and be civilised. So the edict was reinforced in 1773, with equally little effect. Then, by way of adding attractiveness to the programme, several fresh items were introduced. No Gypsy was to be allowed to marry unless he could prove his ability to provide for his children, and married Gypsies were to have their children taken from them to be educated. The latter part of the measure was actually carried out twice at Fahlendorf in 1773 and 1774; but elsewhere, Grellmann regrets to state, it was not properly enforced. At any rate, he has to admit, this singularly humane method of humanising the degraded savages met with no better success than might have been expected with a people who count among their other vices an inordinate affection for their children.¹ The letter from a noble Hungarian lady quoted in Grellmann's book proves that the Hungarian nobility did not enter into the spirit of this reform intended to save the Gypsy from being any longer regarded as

¹ That time has not brought wisdom or humanity to legislators is shown by the similar instance in Germany quoted by Gilliat-Smith, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 133. And England must needs think of adding to her past sins against the Gypsies this same cruelty! Cf. clause 107 of the new *Children's Bill*.

vogelfrei; and one may be pardoned for doubting whether the Gypsy particularly regretted their obduracy in not carrying out the *wohlthuernde Humanität*¹ of their sovereign.

Its lack of success apparently encouraged Joseph II. to frame a similar law for Transylvania: and in 1783 the fiat went forth that the Gypsies should settle and not use their native tongue any longer. They were to give up their particular costume, and their children were to give up their still more particular lack of costume. They were also enjoined to discard cloaks as too effective a covering for their sins—*shyán sî a káni adrîn*. None except the gold-washers were to keep horses—the one beast of all others for which a Gypsy has an affection—none were to attend fairs or barter goods. Instead, they were to lead a life of all work—and that work agriculture, the industry to which the Gypsy has the greatest antipathy²—and no play, music being strictly forbidden except on high days and holidays. Moreover, they were to attend church regularly, to desist from sleeping promiscuously, and to send their children to school clothed: though how all these changes of raiment were to be honestly obtained by persons who were assumed to be outcasts and beggars, the law in its wisdom omitted to state.

All work and no play is not an enticing prospect for any one; and the Gypsy is the last person in the wide world who has any inclination to act the dull boy; so one is prepared to hear that there were little difficulties at first. Getting the children away from their parents to school proved anything but dull work, as they had to be led with a rope round their waists, and even then managed to escape and rejoin their relatives.³ The latter placed their cattle in the cottages provided for their own use and cooked the corn given them to sow. But if we may believe Colocci, who apparently draws his statistics from a census contemporary with the law, the results in the long-run were most satisfactory.⁴ 'Not

¹ J. H. Schwicker, *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn*, Wien, 1883, p. 58.

² Cf. Borrow, *Zincali*, pt. I. ch. ii.; Krauss, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 66 note; Hoyland, *Historical Survey of . . . the Gypsies*, York, 1816, p. 248; Kogalnitchan, *Skizze einer Geschichte der Zigeuner* (tr. Casca, Stuttgart, 1840), p. 34.

³ M. von Schwartzner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn* (2nd ed.), Ofen, 1809, Theil i. 154, and Tissot both state that the young Gypsies put under peasants often ran away even after a long period of settled life: cf. Hoyland, p. 48.

⁴ On Theresia's and Joseph's reforms and their results, cf. Grellmann, *Dissertation on the Gipsies* (tr. Raper), London, 1787, p. 82; Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, p. 116 *et seq.*; Predari, *Origine . . . dei Zingari*, Milano, 1841, ch. vii.; Heister, *Notizen*, Königsberg, 1842, p. 113; Tissot, *Pays des Tziganes*, Paris, 1880. Herrmann prints a document dealing with them in his *Ethnologische Mittheilungen*, Bd. iii. (1893), pp. 55, 114, 168, 210, 221.

all had renounced the life of vagabonds, not all had yielded to the exigencies of the new law. . . . But nevertheless they are no longer outside the law. Entire villages, sprung up as if by magic, facilitate their passage from nomad to sedentary life, the lights of religion and culture begin to illuminate the darkened minds of this degraded race, a seed of morality is now implanted in the family relationships, and the sterile solitude of the Hungarian *pustke* begins to grow fruitful, thanks to the slow but efficacious labours of these new colonies.¹ Here, then, we have the Gypsy problem solved at the first attempt. Tear their children from distracted mothers, forbid the race the use of their native tongue, the companionship of their favourite animal, and the solace of the one art and pastime in which they excel, set them to work at the employment which they most heartily detest, and in a few years all will go swimmingly.

It is strange, however, that those who visited these Gypsy paradises some thirty or forty years later found them several degrees worse than Bedlam. Even Vaillant, ardent partisan though he was of Joseph's reforms, had to confess as much of one of the villages he visited;² and in quite recent times Charles Simond can still say of these settled and civilised Gypsies: 'Les sédentaires sont les descendants de ceux qui fondèrent les *Czygany varos* de Joseph II. Leurs villages offrent l'aspect de campements, car les tentes y sont plus nombreuses que les maisons. Cependant ces civilisés reviennent vite à l'état de vagabondage. La plupart quittent le *varos* au bout d'un ou deux ans; beaucoup n'y passent qu'une partie de l'année, quand l'hiver les oblige à s'abriter.' 'Jusqu'ici,' remarks Tissot, 'tous les essais de civilisation tentés sur eux ont été inutiles. On n'a pu les séduire ni par l'appât de l'or ni par d'autres promesses. Leur nature sauvage finit par reprendre le dessus.' And this, when not only had the question been thoroughly solved by Joseph a hundred years before, but others too seem to have attempted reforms in the interval. Kogalnitchan, at any rate, is mentioned by Heister³ as meditating a reform; and Schwicker tells us that in 1850-60 attempts were again made to enforce some laws, and that in Siebenbürgen

¹ Schwicker, pp. 58, 70, shows that Joseph's law was not much better carried out than Theresia's. Whether these villages were entirely due to Joseph's law one may doubt, as there was already in 1772 a Gypsy colony at Kornstadt: cf. G. D. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Hermannstadt, 1907, ii. 419.

² *Les Rômes: Histoire Vraie des Vrais Bohémiens*, Paris, 1857, p. 297.

³ *Notizen*, p. 114.

a ministerial order was issued against wandering in 1867.¹ Yet the census of 1880 still records many wanderers.

The Archduke Josef, too, partly with the support of the government, but mainly at his own expense, made extensive experiments at civilisation: and surely, if any experiments are likely to prove successful, those made by the Archduke, an enthusiast deeply versed in Romani and Gypsy ways, and prepared to spend, as he did spend, a large portion of his fortune on his protégés' betterment, must have met with the success it merited. He established small colonies at Kis Jenő, Bánkút, Hatvan, and at the Göböljárás *pusztá*, and a large colony at his own estate at Alsóúth. He supplied the colonists with houses, procured them work, and at Alsóúth opened a special school for Gypsy children. Yet the result was, as usual, an utter failure. 'They were leading a settled life as long as the royal protector's eyes were upon them. Since, they have almost entirely dispersed.'² The census of 1893 refused to count most of his colonists among the settled class, because when the enumerators went to the colonies they could not find them there to count. Still, the returns of that census are cheering to those to whom tents and caravans are eyesores, as only 8938 out of a grand total of 274,940 Gypsies of the realm are counted as vagrants. Unless, however, we are prepared to reckon all the English Gypsies as settled, we must add the 22,570 who are entered as 'half-settled,' for no better reason than that they occasionally stop a long time in one spot. The remaining 243,432 are recorded as 'settled': but too much stress need not be laid on that word, as von Sowa's researches among German Gypsies convinced him that the word 'settled,' when spoken of Gypsies, means only that they are ascribed to a certain community, and are sometimes to be found there.³ In that case surely it is perilously near becoming a 'heavenly word with no earthly meaning,' or too many meanings for any of them to have any real significance. 'Some there be,' states Dr. Jekelfalussy, the editor of the census report,⁴

¹ In that very year as many as 40,000 Gypsies encamped near Belgrade: cf. Lucas, *Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, p. 135. G. D. Teutsch, ii. 419, mentions another Reskript enforcing settlement in 1810.

² For details on Josef's attempts I am indebted to F. L. Leipnik, editor of the *Pester Lloyd*, and to Mr. Watts-Dunton, who obtained information from him on my behalf. Further details by Josef himself, and by Professor Herrmann, may be found in the latter's *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, Budapest, 1893, Bd. iii. p. 3 *et seq.* The *Birmingham Daily Post*, January 11, 1908, is mistaken in placing Josef's colonies near Pressburg.

³ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 153.

⁴ *Ungarische Statistische Mittheilungen*, N.F., Bd. ix., Budapest, 1895. It is

'who regularly settle for the winter in their particular parish, often living in tents, but in the summer wander about to earn their living, part of them always going to the same places. Such have been partly regarded in the census as permanently settled, and with good reason too.' Humpty-Dumpty never made a freer use of words. The good doctor will assuredly have to pay the word 'settled' extra wages if he can make it embrace all that. Unless my scanty knowledge of natural history misleads me, bears hibernate regularly; but I have yet to learn why some bears—not all, but some—should 'with good reason' be counted among householders.

Still, the Gypsy problem is to a great extent solved in Austria and Hungary; but it is rather in spite of Joseph's law than because of that law. The gradual increase of civilisation and settled life owes more to the laxness with which his instructions were carried out than to the thoroughness of his measures. In a census report some thirty years ago not a single Gypsy was returned as practising husbandry, the employment laid on them by Joseph; and even in the later report of 1893, in spite of the overwhelming number of settled Gypsies, one finds but few entered as agriculturists. A large proportion of the rest are musicians, and a fair number horse-dealers and hawkers, or professors of a trade which implies hawking,—all occupations expressly forbidden by Joseph's law. The Gypsies of Debreczin have apparently almost lost their nationality and merged among the natives, but in Vaillant's time one of the richest men in Debreczin was a horse-dealer.

It is, as Liszt argues, the friendly and tolerant spirit with which they have been regarded by the people, which has encouraged them to desert partially their nomadic life and made Hungary their paradise. They have been fortunate in finding an appreciative audience to their music: fortunate in finding in the Wallachians a race of kindred spirit and instincts:¹ fortunate, too, in finding another trade besides music—that of gold-washing, to which they have taken kindly. Both professions suit their wild and fitful spirit, and in both they are industrious and prosperous. With prosperity has come, to some at least, a considerable degree of culture, even to the extent of having English governesses for their children.² But that the old Esau is not

worth noting that the census was taken on January 31, when even in England most Gypsies would be 'settled.'

¹ Cf. Jekelfalussy, p. 61* of the *Ungarische Statistische Mittheilungen*, N. F., Bd. ix.

² *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 173.

dead in them, and will not yield even to kindness and pampering, is abundantly made clear by Liszt's unsuccessful experiment with his little musical protégé Josy.

The Austrians themselves, in spite of their 90 per cent. of 'settled' Gypsies, do not regard the problem as definitely solved, and their government has just decided to draw up a new set of laws dealing with the Gypsies. It is to be hoped that they will profit by the lessons their successes and their failures should have taught them, and that, if they must legislate at all, they will bring forward laws which pay some regard to the Gypsies' inherited instincts. The editor of the latest census report has at least learned that agriculture cannot be forced upon Gypsies, and that they are physically incapable of the labour it requires. Even when spurred to activity by the example of the Archduke Josef, who occasionally worked with them, their energies were soon exhausted, and they pleaded in answer to a bystander's taunt: 'Seine Hoheit hat es leicht, er ist an die Arbeit gewohnt, wir aber nicht.'¹ But when one finds Dr. Jekelfalussy still advocating violent educational reforms in a country where 67 per cent. even of the settled Gypsies object to sending their children to school, and when one hears that 'an ill-famed' sheriff has been appointed Commissioner to draw up the laws, the prospect does not look particularly rosy.

In Spain, since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, there had been laws inviting the Gypsies to settle down under 'masters whom they might serve for their maintenance,' or else avoid the realm. These laws were several times repeated, but the *Romanchals* continued to show a preference for serving their own sweet will for their maintenance, and an aptitude for avoiding the policeman rather than the realm. Philip III. (A.D. 1619) did not better matters much by adding the quaint clause, 'they are not Gitanos by origin or nature.' They were Gitanos, and Gitanos they remained for all that, even when Carlos II., in 1692, repeated the statement and the law, with additions such as insistence on agriculture, which made it very similar to that afterwards published by Theresia. Nothing daunted, Carlos III., like the snark-hunting butcher, proceeded to 'say it again,' apparently with the

¹ An anecdote in the *Ethnologische Mittheilungen*, Bd. iii. (1893), p. 112, shows how little the Gypsies appreciated the Archduke's agricultural efforts. There some Gypsies propose to go to Josef, but an old lady objects on the score '*taisa the kerel, taisa the kapalel hum; penar tumen, na isi amenge*' ('one must always labour, always work with the hoe; I tell you it is not for us').

same innocent belief that if he said it three times it needs must be true; and to make the certainty more sure he imposed a fine on any recalcitrantly veracious subject who might assert that Gitanos were Gitanos. The rest of his enactments closely resemble those of Theresia. He too allowed them ninety days wherein to change their nationality, nature, and language, and to learn a trade—no simple trade such as innkeeping sufficing; and he too added the inducement that in return for so doing he would rob them of their children under sixteen years of age. Still, his law had at least some rational principles: it did not brand them as foreigners or outcasts, and it allowed them free choice of the trade they would follow, instead of forcing agriculture upon them. As Borrow somewhat grandiloquently puts it: it 'flung open to them the whole career of arts and sciences, and declared them capable of following any trade or profession to which they might please to addict themselves.'¹ Open the careers of the arts and sciences, save music, would appear to have remained, and to be likely to remain, if the filling of them depends on the Gitanos; but if assimilation is the one thing desirable, the Spanish Gypsies certainly have assimilated themselves to a large extent with the least desirable and most degraded class of Spaniards.² Still, the *cali rati* had not become white, and the 'affairs of Egypt' were by no means forgotten in Borrow's day; the *chiye cali*, in a debased form, became popular years after it was prohibited by law;³ and the Catalonian Gypsies, at any rate, do not seem to be properly sedentary even now.⁴

In Norway, where the Gypsies were regarded with more horror, and treated in recent years more shamefully than anywhere else in Europe, as the barbaric murder detailed by Vaillant⁵ shows, it was not till the middle of the last century that any voice was raised in their favour. Then Sundt, a pastor, endeavoured privately to reclaim some of them, but his efforts 'met with little success, and he found much which led him to fear that it is very improbable they will ever adopt the habits of civilised life. An irrepressible desire to wander seems natural to the race; and even their children, adopted and well treated by farmers and clergymen of the country, generally run away to the woods in search of their

¹ *Zincali*, pt. 1. ch. xii.; cf. also ch. xi. for other Spanish laws.

² Cf. Gallichan, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 121.

³ Cf. Knapp, *Life of George Borrow*, London, 1899, i. 348.

⁴ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 35 *et seq.*

⁵ *Les Rômes: Histoire Vraie*, p. 469 *et seq.*

relatives as soon as they are able.'¹ His attempts, however, awoke the dormant energies of the government, and in 1855 it tried the effect of inviting them to settle down, with a promise of assistance for that purpose, and a threat of continued persecution if they failed to take advantage of the offer. Details of an extensive state-attempt at civilisation of some four hundred persons are apparently to be found in Sundt's later books and articles; but as those books and articles are out of my reach, and Norwegian is out of my reading, I can only infer the results from the note published by Sandeman in the October number of this journal. Like others, this attempt seems to have come to absolutely nothing; but, undaunted and unenlightened, philanthropists have recently again begun on the same philanthropic line of rending children from parents, whom they condemn for their 'inordinate affection' towards them. Nor has increased intercourse with the natives been beneficial; for, as is generally the case, the Gypsy of Norway has not improved by intermarriage. Such marriages have mostly been formed with the criminal classes, and resulted in a class of vagabonds called *Skojern*, detested alike by Gypsies and natives.²

In Servia, in spite of the law of Alexander the Good permitting them to 'go round with fire and iron,'³ the Gypsies sank into absolute servitude, which was confirmed by the law of 1816. In 1830 a law was passed ostensibly with a philanthropic purpose,⁴ but really, as Colocci says, it was only *ipocritamente più benigna*. Its object was to facilitate and regulate the settlement of wandering Gypsies; and by way of allurements it offered free grants of land and exemption from taxes for one year to those who wished to settle. So far as I can find, none did wish to settle: probably they knew too well what would happen in the second year. Genuine private attempts at ameliorating their condition were undertaken after the publication of this law at Folcii and at Poscharewatz by Milosch;⁵ and Constantino Soutzo trained

¹ Hubert Smith, *Tent Life with English Gypsies in Norway*, London, 1873, p. 517 *et seq.*

² Cf. C. Simond, Introduction to *Chez les Tziganes* (selections from Tissot), (*Bibliothèque Illustrée des Voyages autour du Monde*), p. 6.

³ Kogalnitchan, p. 14.

⁴ As a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, January 1899, has pointed out, 'philanthropic' advocacy of domestic slavery for vagrants was common too in Scotland as late as the seventeenth century. Even A. Fletcher of Saltoun pleads for it in his *Two Discourses*, 1698.

⁵ Kogalnitchan (tr. Casca), p. 34; Colocci, p. 133. Again an agricultural attempt, and therefore unsuccessful.

a number of Gypsies as musicians and formed an excellent orchestra. Colonel Choresco, too, instituted a kind of free colony of Gypsies,¹ and the first instance of actual gift of freedom was a private act of Colonel Campiniano in 1834. His slaves, however, proved too ignorant to profit much by their new-won freedom. But this act, combined with a tardy repentance for the misery he had caused in selling his own slaves, incited Stirbeiu to form a project for freeing the Gypsies of Wallachia; and in 1837 Prince Alexander Ghyka freed the state slaves and set them to cultivate the waste land of the *Bojars*. They had to pay a tribute, and the attempt is said to have been very successful. In 1844 his example was followed in Moldavia by Prince Stourdza and received with popular acclamations; but the Gypsies in private hands remained slaves (except for a short interval during 1848, the year of revolution) until 1855, when Gregory Ghyka passed a law freeing them. The proprietors were to be indemnified from the tribute exacted from the freed Gypsies; but many of them preferred to make a virtue of necessity, and set them free of their own accord.² The intention of the government, no doubt, was to settle them as agriculturists, but they do not seem to have succeeded in that object. Many of them must have returned to their wandering life and their favourite trades, for since 1866 energetic steps have been taken to repress wandering, with the result that now, forty years later, most of them are formally settled. But, according to Gjorgjević,³ they ply the trades of smiths, spoon and basket makers, horse-dealers and bear-leaders, which can hardly be called sedentary occupations. Indeed, though Gjorgjević represents them as industrious and tolerably well-to-do, one may doubt if the term sedentary means much more than that their peregrinations are limited to a narrow circle. That, at any rate, was the result that von Sowa found among the Gypsies in Germany, where, in spite of legislation, the families entered as 'settled' in certain districts were 'seldom seen in their own district.'⁴ And how little they are settled even now is shown by Gilliat-Smith's delightful reminiscences of his experiences among them in 1903. Indeed, if the habits of the colony mentioned by the Archduke

¹ Cf. Heister, p. 112.

² On these laws, cf. Colocci, p. 133 *et seq.*; Vaillant, *Les Rômes: Histoire Vraie des Vrais Bohémiens*, Paris, 1857; H. Bernard, *Mœurs des Bohémiens de la Moldavie*, Paris, 1869, p. 28 *et seq.*

³ *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 219.

⁴ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 134; ii. 138, 286.

Josef¹ at Muttershausen in Nassau may be taken as characteristic of the German Gypsies in general, then though they are *dem Gesetze gemäss und dem Namen nach ansässige Zigeuner*, in reality they are greater wanderers than their confessedly nomadic brethren. The latter seldom quit their native land, whereas the Nassau colony frequently travelled far into France.

In Poland a law of 1791, similar to that of Carlos II. of Spain, is chronicled by Colocci² as having had very good results: the Gypsies are settling and becoming educated. However good they may be, the results are certainly slow, for Zielinski³ found plenty of nomadic Gypsies, in a very poor and rude state, nearly one hundred years after the passing of the law.

In Russia the Gypsies have been treated with exceptional kindness, as the government has always sought rather to assimilate than to persecute them. In 1783 a polite invitation was issued to them to settle down and pay a tax for the privilege of doing so; and since then several attempts have been made, with more expense than profit, to induce them to cease from wandering. In Bessarabia two villages were built for them to settle in, and they settled very cheerfully in the autumn, and flitted equally cheerfully in the spring; and the same was the result of an attempt in the Crimea.⁴ As the only obstacle to wandering seems to be that they are not allowed a proper passport unless they are registered as settled, the localities selected for their settlement are not likely to be over-burdened with their presence. Still, in the Crimea there are a certain number in fixed habitations, in Lithuania wanderers are said to be rare,⁵ and at St. Petersburg and Moscow, as in Austria, the Gypsies have found an appreciative audience for their musical talents, with the same good effect.⁶

This pitiful record of half-successes and total failures does not offer much encouragement to would-be legislators 'on behalf of' the Gypsies; and the results certainly are not at all proportionate to the energy and money wasted, especially as nations which have made no such efforts can produce equally good, if not better, results. What the foreign Gypsy living under these laws is, we have recently been taught by our 'German' visitors; and though,

¹ *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, Bd. iv. (1895), p. 50.

² *Gli Zingari*, p. 122.

³ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, iii. 108.

⁴ Colocci, p. 123; cf. also *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 258.

⁵ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 251-8.

⁶ Cf. Leland, *The Gypsies*, Boston, 1882, p. 17 *et seq.*

as McCormick and Sampson¹ have shown, those visitors were not so bad as they were painted, were indeed more sinned against than sinning, they certainly cannot be held up as models to our own *Romanichals*, who have been left to develop according to their own sweet will. Even as regards settlement of the Gypsies, England can compare not unfavourably with most other countries. The Blackpool colony is almost sedentary. The Welsh Gypsies have found two half-sedentary employments, fishing and rowing visitors on the lakes, which provide for them a comfortable and orderly means of life. In the New Forest there is a large settlement of seven hundred Gypsies at Thorny Hill, who subsist by selling flowers;² and I am told there is another colony at the foot of the Malvern Hills. Crofton mentions a settlement of five families of Boswells at Hale Moss, near Altrincham. They had been settled there for sixteen years, but lived in broken-down railway cars, vans, and tents, and had not given up wandering. They went round to fairs dealing in horses and playing the fiddle, and some travelled even as far as Blackpool.³ In Turkey, too, where they have been unmolested, a number of them have taken to a sedentary life; and in America 'land—the tie that binds to civilisation—is being acquired, houses are taking the place of tents.'⁴ Leave them alone, and those in whom the *Wanderlust* is not too deeply rooted will probably in course of time come to settled habitations, though whether they will be any better for that is very doubtful. They certainly are no better in Turkey, where Paspatis tells us the sedentary Gypsies are 'aussi pauvres et aussi misérables que leurs frères les Nomades, et infiniment plus adonnés qu'eux au vol et à la ruse.' Yet in Turkey they have settled freely; and if free settlers, converts presumably to civilised life, show no signs of conversion to the civilised code of morals, what is likely to be the result of compulsory settlement?⁵ Even

¹ *Tinkler Gypsies*, Dumfries, 1907, p. 457 *et seq.*; *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 111.

² Cf. *Northern Echo*, July 10, 1907; and *Morning Leader*, June 3, 1907.

³ Crofton, *Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire*, Manchester Literary Club, *Papers*, vol. iii., Manchester, 1877, p. 37.

⁴ Cf. J. K. Reeve, *The Chautauquan*, x. (January 1890), p. 446, on a Gypsy settlement at Dayton, Ohio. Mr. Reeve is more optimistic than consistent, as he previously states that, though the Stanleys who formed the settlement owned farms, they let them and did not work them themselves; 'for, however near the Gypsy may be to primeval man, he has not yet developed a strong liking for the labor of the primeval occupation.'

⁵ Settlement generally means intermarriage with Gorgios, and those Gorgios of the lowest class; and Esau's sons wedded to Ishmael's daughters are not likely to produce careful and sober householders. How little desirable a combination

if, in our great kindness, we regard the Gypsy as leading a dog's life, it is invariably safer to let sleeping dogs lie. Besides, settled habitations do not necessarily imply a sedentary mode of life. According to the Hungarian census of 1893, among the most 'settled' and best educated of the sedentary Gypsies are the musicians, some seventeen thousand in number. Yet though they may be householders, their bohemian calling surely forbids a strictly 'settled' life; indeed, the Tziganes who form the orchestras of several Parisian cafés may not improbably be counted among these 'settled' Austro-Hungarian musicians. Many of the others who profess trades admittedly profess them merely as a blind for hawking. Similarly the settled New Forest colony earns its livelihood by hawking flowers in Bournemouth, and the advantage of having a whole village hawking flowers in one city rather than pegs, brooms, baskets, and nuts, in several counties, it is difficult to see. On the other hand, some one has to mend kettles and ply the various vagrant trades which are in the hands of the Gypsies; and whoever he may be, he certainly cannot ply them sitting by his fireside. Who can be found better fitted for such trades than the Gypsy who, as private and personal attempts at 'civilisation' show even more clearly than public experiments, has no desire for a settled life, nay, will not, or rather cannot, stay for long in a fixed habitation, however good a home be provided for him?

Considering the number of benevolent societies for forcing clothes and religion on the heathen in climates where one would gladly for coolness' sake dispense with six of one's seven skins rather than add other covering to them, I suppose the Gypsies may congratulate themselves on the comparative freedom from 'benevolent' interference which they have enjoyed. Still, they too have met with their share of well- in addition to ill-meant interference; and the former is the more difficult to treat, as one cannot help respecting the good intentions of the would-be reformers, however much one may smile at the absurdity of their methods and their utter inability to comprehend the nature of the people with whom they were dealing. To most of the private

they form may be seen from the Norwegian *Skojern* mentioned above, from the 'Blazing Tinman,' and from the older Scottish tinkers. The latter show, too, that intermarriage does not necessarily mean conversion to settled life; indeed, in most cases the Gypsy converts the native to a wandering or semi-wandering life. Witness the large number of—generally undesirable—*posh-rats* on our roads: cf. Borrow, *Romano Lavotil*, London, 1907, p. 220.

attempts applies the criticism passed by Kohl—who, though no student of the Gypsies, showed more sympathy for the Gypsy nature than most of the reformers—on Crabb's reforms: 'Doch mischen sich in seine Ideen über die Reform der Zigeuner so viele sonderbare und unpractische religiöse Ideen ein, dass der Grund und Boden, auf dem er sein Verfahren baut, mir hie und da hohl zu sein scheint.'¹ The reformers have erred in supposing the Gypsies to be merely irreligious, whereas the truth is that they are essentially unreligious. It may be that they are 'the oldest race on earth and have worn out all the gods';² it may be that they were pariahs outside the pale of religion in their native land so long that they have grown to regard themselves as having no part nor lot in it; or perhaps in them, as in civilised bohemians, the artistic temperament, which their musical ability shows them to possess, excludes the religious, and makes them rather worshippers of nature than of gods. *Kushto bāk*, the luck they are so ready to predict for Gorgios, is their only god; and the nearest approach to a religious sense is a certain amount of superstition, which occasionally makes them observe religious forms without any pious intent. A belief that it is lucky so to do makes them anxious to have their children christened,³ though they have little or no respect for the marriage service. *La Tuérta*, the One-eyed, was afraid of repeating *Saboca Enrecar María Ereria*, 'Dwell within us, blessed Maria,' though she believed in no god, and had no scruples about spitting at the *búlto* of the self-same Maria:⁴ and the Spanish Gypsies eagerly bought Borrow's translation of Luke, not to study the words of righteousness, but to use as a talisman and safeguard in their unrighteous dealings. Superstition, however, is not religion; and actual religious sense they have none. Any attempts, therefore, to appeal to them through a sense which they do not possess are not likely to meet with marked success.

Public interest in the Gypsies seems to have first been roused in England by the papers written by Sir Walter Scott, Walter Simson, and Bailie Smith of Kelso, for *Blackwood's Magazine*; but these were preceded and probably occasioned by letters in the *Northampton Mercury* in 1814-15, and by the circular-letter sent out by Hoyland inquiring into the present state of the Gypsies in

¹ *Reisen in England*, Leipzig, 1844, Theil 3, xxxvi. 252-60.

² R. Jefferies, *Field and Hedgerow*, London, 1889, p. 162.

³ Cf. *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, London, 1905, p. 2.

⁴ Cf. Borrow, *Zincali*, pt. II. ch. viii.

England. Hoyland had been commissioned by the Society of Friends at their annual meeting in 1815 to collect information with a view to ameliorating their condition, and in the next year the good Quaker published the results of his inquiries and of his personal investigations,—though not all the latter, if report lie not in attributing to him a quite unquakerly appreciation of the *kále yaká* of a *Romani chai*. It may have been his book which gave the impetus to the two societies formed soon afterwards by Crabb in England in 1827 and by Baird in Scotland in 1838. The object of both societies was to reform the Gypsies by educating the children and by inducing their elders to adopt a settled mode of life. The Southampton Committee experimented on the New Forest Gypsies, endeavouring to draw them to Southampton, and the Edinburgh Committee on the Gypsies at Kirk Yetholm. And the permanent results in both cases seem to have been practically none. It is true that both Crabb and Baird¹ wrote hopeful accounts during the progress of the work, and both induced one or two families to settle 'permanently,'—for the time at any rate. The Gypsies in both cases showed a tolerable willingness to have their children educated—free and gratis (when it came to some thoughts of asking for payment, they were not so certain about it)—and a perfect readiness to receive tracts and Bibles. There was no harm in that, at any rate, as one of them naïvely remarked; besides, it is part of the unwritten *Romani* law to receive any unconsidered trifles that may be given. They attended prayer-meetings, and behaved—as Gypsies always do behave unless offended—with perfect orderliness and politeness; but Crabb's prayer-meetings were rendered palatable by a *kushto háben* of roast-beef and plum-pudding. They even went so far as to have some of their children regularly christened, and to be formally converted themselves. But it is worth remembering that a formal conversion is in itself no great hardship, and may at times be a good stroke of business:—such at least was the view of the old Gypsy *dai* who was received into the Church seven times in seven different parishes, when she found that a conversion meant a new dress:²—worth remembering, too, that five hundred

¹ Cf. Crabb, *Gipsies' Advocate*; and the details of J. Baird's work in the *Memoir* by W. Baird (London, 1862); and W. Brookie, *Gypsies of Yetholm*, Kelso, 1884, p. 108 *et seq.*

² Cf. the *Yorkshire Post*, August 24, 1907; Crofton, *Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire*, Manchester Literary Club, *Papers*, vol. iii., Manchester, 1877, p. 41. Cf. also Gipsy Smith, *His Life and Work*, London, 1905, pp. 1, 2: 'The Gipsies . . .

years ago the Gypsies came among us as penitents and pilgrims. And when one finds in the interesting contemporary account of Kohl,¹ who visited Crabb, that popular report credited Crabb with no great success with his reformed Gypsies, as they were generally worse than their fellows who remained in a state of primitive barbarity, one is strongly reminded of old Esther Faa Blythe's stock remark: 'I need have fifty faces: a face for a minister, a face for a gentleman, a face for a blackguard, and a face for an honest man.'² Januses must have been common in the neighbourhood of Southampton in the year of grace 1832, for Crabb's reformed Gypsies had a face for a clergyman, which, according to Kohl, they did not use towards the ordinary honest or dishonest man. Even the reformed and educated children put out to service almost all returned to their old wandering life.

Unfortunately we have no such sidelight on Baird's attempt; but he himself states in his report of 1842, rather in the Irish than the Scottish manner, that 'the success hitherto has been next to an entire failure.' After his death the scheme fell through for lack of funds; and its permanent results in the way of settlement may be inferred from old Esther's statement some twenty or thirty years later, that there were 'nane of her seed, breed, or generation' in the 'mingle-mangle' Gypsy capital.³

Crabb's enthusiasm seems to have been infectious, and several other missions modelled on his were attempted simultaneously. The most important was the experiment at Farnham, near Blandford, in 1845. An appeal of the Rev. J. West, of Chettle, Dorset, resulted in a subscription of £1200, and the gift of some ground near Farnham, where a 'Gypsy Asylum and Industrial School' was erected. Two cottages also were built for the Gypsies, and inhabited by some of the Mills' and Stanleys; and one of the latter, their most promising convert, laid the foundation-stone at the Asylum. This attempt, too, was partly religious and partly educational: the children, who, according to inquiries of the present vicar, never exceeded twelve,⁴ were educated at the Asylum, and taken to church, where they were always take care to get their babies christened, because it is a matter of business,' and means presents from those who attend.

¹ *Reisen*, Theil 3, xxxvi. 252-60.

² Cf. Lucas, *Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, Kelso, 1882, p. 8.

³ Groome in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, vi. 503.

⁴ Woodcock, *The Gypsies*, London, 1865, p. 121, says, however, 'we have had sixty of them at our Asylum'; possibly that is the sum-total, and twelve the maximum at one time.

taught Christian brotherhood by being set apart on separate seats that they might not mix with the other children. There need have been no particular fear of that; they have not mixed with the Gorgios. The Mills' are dead: the Stanleys have migrated: the Asylum became after a few years a private house, and is now a museum; and Farnham is, as it wished to be, free from all Gypsy taint.

A young lady opened a school at Hounslow; the London City Mission bestirred themselves among the Gypsies of Notting Hill and Dale and converted Thomas Hearn, a chair-mender and 'no true Gypsy';¹ and various other ladies, young and old, endeavoured to wash away the Gypsies' sins with tea. 'Buckets are what they want,' Gipsy Smith says of his kinsfolk, when they are in a convivial mood: and buckets—of tea—the Notting Hill Gypsies seem to have had. 'At least eight large cupsful' each were consumed at one of these gatherings on behalf of temperance. Another 'happy tea-party' given by the London Mission did not pass off so swimmingly as one might imagine from the amount of liquid consumed: indeed, it very nearly degenerated into a tea-fight according to the report in the *Missing Link*, quoted by Woodcock. Twice the Gypsies flared up, and declared they did not come there to be called liars and thieves. Pretty obviously they went there to consume tea, and sleep through the rest of the proceedings; but there are limits to a Gypsy's patience, even if you stand him tea galore. Very little but the tea soaked into them, to judge by Leland's jottings on metropolitan Gypsies twenty years later.² Leland, however, did find many who still remembered Crabb's kindness; and there is no doubt that both Crabb and Baird succeeded in winning genuine respect from them. Ingratitude, indeed, is not one of the Gypsies' failings. But personal respect for a missionary, though it may induce one to listen with outward and visible patience to his sermons and Bible-readings, does not necessarily imply any inward and spiritual grace.

A more graceless set of scoundrels than Chicharona and Pépa, with her promising offspring, the One-eyed and the Scorpion, can hardly be imagined. Yet Borrow's ascendancy over them was

¹ Cf. Borrow, *Romano Lavolil*, London, 1907, p. 121.

² On these attempts cf. Woodcock, chs. ix. and xi.; Morwood, *Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van*, London, 1885, p. 338. I have also to thank the Rev. R. Stokes, the present incumbent of Farnham, for information about the Farnham Asylum.

such that he persuaded them to translate a considerable portion of Luke into *Romani*, and to listen to expositions of the work. Their conduct, however, was not so single-eyed as it looks at first sight. There was at least a much appreciated glass of Malaga wine to be got for each sitting, and they may have had hopes of a more material reward than that rather niggardly allowance. At any rate, when Borrow refused to lend one of their company two *barias* of gold, their spiritual gracelessness was revealed at the end of a reverential prayer-meeting by a very visible and hideous squint. 'Not an individual present but squinted—the genteel Pépa, the good-humoured Chicharona, the Casdamí, etc. etc., all squinted. The Gypsy fellow, the contriver of the jest, squinted worst of all. Such are Gypsies.' Gypsies being such, Borrow's endeavours to convert them were, as he himself admits, perfectly ineffectual. Indeed, Pépa celebrated the termination of her Bible-lessons by a more than usually flagrant theft.¹

Much at the same time as Crabb's a similar attempt was made in Germany. Friedrich II. had founded a colony at Friedrichslohra for *allerhand Gesindel*, but it is doubtful whether any Gypsies were included in his miscellaneous collection of riff-raff. His colony, however, called attention to the Gypsies who occasionally settled near Friedrichslohra; and in 1830 the Barmer Missions-Gesellschaft of Naumburg, sent Wilhelm Blankenburg, a shoemaker and schoolmaster, and his wife, to found a school for the Gypsy children. At first he was rejected; but after a while he managed to win the Gypsies' affection and the townspeople's hatred. The scheme got state help, bought a home, began to build a school for the children, and tried to induce their elders to work at cutting down a forest. In 1832 the school was completed; eleven children were boarded, and nine others attended it, and were fed and taught and clothed during the daytime:—at night they had to change into their rags again, for fear of their parents selling the clothes. The latter had meanwhile given up chopping trees and taken to music. In that year a Regierungs Rescript was published describing the wonderful success: children being taught, parents flocking to the school of an evening. 'In diesem Augenblicke, da die ersten Keime der Gesittung in ihnen sich regen, und das Gefühl ihres bisherigen jammervollen Lebens in ihnen erwacht, bedürfen sie am dringendsten der Stütze.' How profoundly impressed they were with their miseries and their need of assistance, and how deeply laid

¹ Cf. *Zincali*, pt. II. ch. viii.

were the seeds of civilisation, may be inferred from their recalcitrance in the next year, when they showed such determined opposition to church attendance and to allowing their children to go to school that the wandering part of them—fifty-eight in number—were sent to prison. Then things were peaceable for a bit, though several of the 'settled' families flitted; but in 1835 the others were set free, flocked back to Friedrichslohra, and created a disturbance. In the next year most of the children ran or were enticed away, leaving only thirteen; and then the state issued permission for such Gypsies as were settled and could provide for their children to remove them. They did remove six of them to the nearest inn and regaled them there till they were blind drunk. In September 1837 the place was given up, the last three school-children being transferred to Erfurt, where some had previously been sent. Two girls were put out to service, and one boy was apprenticed to learn basket-making, a trade he might have acquired at home at a slightly cheaper rate, seeing that the whole attempt cost several thousand thaler.¹

Heister² mentions a Gypsy school at Debreczin, and Crabb another at Nordhausen, attended by a missionary from Berlin; but what the results of these enterprises were deponent knoweth not. Schwicker³ records one set up at Szatmár by Bishop Johann Hám in 1855, and another at Neuhausel by Ferdinand Farkas, which both failed for lack of material to work on. Perhaps they were not liberal enough with tea and turkey. An attempt made by Prince Wittgenstein to induce them to settle at Sasmannshausen seems to have been rather more successful. Von Sowa found a number of them there working on the railway, and almost Germanised, as they are too at Berleburg. But the members of a settlement at Klein-Rekeitschen still preserve their Gypsy manners.⁴ The Archduke Josef instituted a special Gypsy school at Alcsúth, and spoke in glowing terms of the excellent material the Gypsy children afforded. The school produced, he says, in a very short time most remarkable results. What those results were the highways and the hedges alone can tell, for the Archduke's colonies know his pupils no more.

No better success has attended private and personal attempts to reform Gypsies. The noble Hungarian lady mentioned by

¹ Cf. Heister, *Notizen*, p. 114 *et seq.*; Tetzner, *Geschichte*, p. 117 *et seq.*

² *Notizen*, p. 79.

³ *Die Zigeuner in Siebenbürgen*, p. 73.

⁴ Von Sowa, *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 31, 134.

Grellmann found the families she had on her estate, and even those she took into her residence, most intractable: the children would not wear clothes, the parents would not work unless they were closely watched; and though she discussed religion with them for hours on end, they would not be converted. Charlotte Stanley was adopted by a rich lady, well cared for and educated, and was on the eve of a good marriage, when the Gypsy blood reasserted itself, and she fled back to her own people. There she married a *Romanichal*, and a *tuchi romni* she proved to a most undeserving *rom*, for all her gorgeous training.¹ That his repeated cruelties never made her waver in her choice between civilised and uncivilised life shows how little attraction the former has even to such Gypsies as have experienced its luxuries. If further proof that luxury cannot make up for lack of freedom and that adoption of Gypsy children is useless, were needed, it is supplied by the history of Liszt's protégé Josy. Josy was sold to Count Sandor Teleky at the age of twelve, and presented by him to Liszt, who educated him, so far as his intractable nature allowed him to be educated, as a musician, supplying him with all the luxuries his native love of finery demanded. But as soon as he was brought face to face again with his own kith and kin, his joy knew no bounds, and he threw in his lot with them without a moment's hesitation.² Crabb has a parallel instance: 'An orphan only ten years of age, taken from actual starvation last winter, and who was fed and clothed, and had every care taken of him, would not remain with those who wished him well, and who had been his friends; but returned to the camp from which he had been taken, saying that he would be a Gipsy.'³ 'Wealth they seek not, hope nor love'—of Gorgio lover, at any rate. Mona, daughter of Zingara Macroumi, a most uncanny set of names for what was apparently an English *Romani chai*, according to a notice in a French book on the Gypsies, married some years ago a certain Sir Edward B——, but soon found her mistake, and fled back to a life of freedom;⁴ and several somewhat similar instances are quoted by Ralston, Morwood, and others.⁵

¹ Cf. Kohl, *Reisen*, ch. xxxvi.

² Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur Musique en Hongrie*, Paris, 1859, p. 200, or Leipzig, 1881, p. 231 *et seq.*

³ *Gypsies' Advocate* (1831), p. 24.

⁴ C. Améro, *Bohémiens, Tsiganes et Gypsies*, p. 74.

⁵ *Good Words*, 1868 (Feb. 1), pp. 96-101. Compare also V. S. Morwood, *Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van*, London, 1885, pp. 97 *et seq.*, 150; and Woodcock, *The Gipsies*, London, 1865, p. 41.

If those who have experienced Gorgio life in all its gorgeousness cannot stomach it, it is hardly to be supposed that those on whom the lines have fallen in less pleasant places should feel more attracted by it: and one is not surprised to find that most of the Gypsy girls enticed to enter domestic service have speedily relapsed. Charles Tennyson made the attempt with a Gypsy girl at Grasby: 'but as soon as the tribe came into the neighbourhood again, the spell of the old free life carried her back to the bosom of her people.'¹ Samuel Roberts has described a similar short-lived experiment with Clara Hearn. For the few days she spent in his house he found her docile and tractable enough: but then she did not stay long enough for the novelty to wear off and for the Romani spirit to get the upper hand. Her brother, Riley Bosvil, the flying tinker, saw to that, for at the end of eight days he came with a trotting cob and carried her away, pleading domestic reasons. A few weeks later Borrow met her in Norfolk, under the safe watch and guard of three *Romane daia*, discoursed with her on religion and other topics, and found her still full of 'gorgeous' notions and sorrowing for a taste of civilised life. But five-and-twenty years later he chanced upon her on Epsom Downs, Romani of the Romané, initiating her daughters into the gentle arts of *hokeripen* and *dukeripen*; and when he spoke of religion, she answered not save with a Gypsy glance of her eye. The Romani blood had come to the fore again.

And sooner or later the Gypsy blood always does reassert itself. That is what makes it so particularly useless to attempt to 'get at them through their children.' It is not that the Gypsies nowadays have any rooted objection to having their children educated, during the winter months at any rate, when it does not interfere with their nomadic life. Indeed, so far back as the beginning of the last century, Bailie Smith found that the Gypsies of Scotland gave their children as good an education as the lower classes of natives; and though things were not so advanced in England, Hoyland found some of the Lovells sending their children to school of their own free will, and some Coopers attending Thomas Howard's Sunday-school in 1811.² Crabb, too, mentions Gypsies whose only objection was that the children met with scorn and dislike from their English schoolfellows; and those who have taught them seem to find them willing—so far as any healthy

¹ A. G. Weld, *Glimpses of Tennyson*, London, 1903, p. 10.

² Hoyland, *Historical Survey*, York, 1816, pp. 174, 184.

child is willing—to acquire the three R's and the simple elements of education.¹ Of course, their nomadic life in the summer months practically bars school attendance then, and thereby they are prevented from acquiring the 'extras' and refinements lavished on board-school children. Hence one seldom finds the Gypsy a pot-house politician, a long-haired æsthete, an open-mouthed, empty-headed devourer of Marie Corelli's latest, or any of the other products of modern civilisation. Is the country much the worse for that?² And does the child reared under ordinary board-school regulations turn his education to much better use?

'I want to know a butcher paints,
A baker rhymes for his pursuit,
Candlestick-maker much acquaints
His soul with song, or, haply mute,
Blows out his brains upon the flute.'

The Gypsy, uneducated, would be capable of the last two refinements, though he generally has a soul above a flute, and aims at nothing less than a fiddle. For the rest, though he may seldom acquire a library as large as that of old Wester Boswell, and still more seldom kill himself by 'stewdiation' like Lазzy Smith,³ his summer months of freedom gain for the Gypsy child an unfailing health and an iron constitution, which is surely no invaluable asset for himself or for his country.

If more education be thought necessary, then perhaps the best plan would be to have travelling school vans, though they have been several times tried with little success. The Rev. J. Howard Swinstead has described his experiences when sent out in such a van by the Salisbury Diocese Church Mission. His work, however, lay chiefly among Gorgio travellers and *posh-rats*, who thought that 'the wust of our dravelin' life is cos o' they Gypsies; they gits us all a bad name,'⁴ and does not seem to have had any very encouraging results, possibly because the attempt was largely religious. A strictly educational travelling-van was run in France

¹ Cf. Crofton, *Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire*, Manchester Lit. Club, 1877; Swinstead, p. 58; Morwood, *Our Gypsies*, ch. xi.; 'My friend's Gypsy Journal,' in *Good Words*, November 1, 1888, pp. 701, 745 (description of a lady's experiences in teaching Gypsies at Newington, Edinburgh).

² Even the civilising effect of education is not beyond dispute: cf. the *Spectator*, March 28, 1908, pp. 489, 490, where the writer quotes a remark overheard in a railway carriage, that education was 'apt to brutalise' the Gypsies, and concludes, 'If education can only "bring out," it must in some cases accentuate a bad character.'

³ *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 80, and *The Jubilee Book of the Philosophical Institution*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 83.

⁴ *A Parish on Wheels*, pp. 6-7.

among showmen by one Mademoiselle Bonnefois, but it is improbable that it touched genuine Gypsies—if such there be in the neighbourhood of Paris. What was the fate of the subscriptions raised by the magazine called the *Caravan* in 1894 for a Travelling School Van Scheme, the collectors best know. The magazine itself is perhaps worthy of mention, as it calls itself the 'Official Organ of the Travellers National Total Abstiners' Union,' and is circulated at York among van-dwellers, chiefly circus folk. It was started in 1885, and, like *Charley's Aunt*, is still running. In it there is much 'Advice Gratis'—at a halfpenny a part—on the topic of drink, some notices of meetings to appeal against the Moveable Dwellings Bill¹—George Smith's darling project, presumably—and many notices of fairs and freaks, of deaths of showmen, show-women, lions, and the people who played with them; but nothing apparently dealing with the *tatché Romanichald*, who, indeed, as normally abstemious people, are not very likely to have flocked to join a Total Abstinence Society. Still, the one crowning glory of another van mission—the Gypsy Gospel Waggon Mission started in 1892 in the New Forest and Blackpool—was that they induced Algar Boswell, son of old Wester, to sign the pledge;² they were also 'cheered by a few conversions,' which was their primary object. Among the converts, I am told, is Algar, who now inhabits a mission van. Algar, with Gipsy Smith of world-wide fame, and another Gypsy Reuben Smith, evangelist to the Gypsies at Bath, show that the artistic temperament of the Gypsies breaks out in a somewhat excitable form in the rare cases in which they are affected by religious sentiments. The last-named Smith has for twenty-five years been an evangelist in New Zealand, and is now starting a mission to his Gypsy brethren, combining Crabb's educational schemes with Salvation Army demonstrations. The results are said to be encouraging: but time will show. Schemes of a similar, partly educational, partly evangelistic mission, are, I believe, afoot in Scotland, though, as one might imagine, much difficulty is felt in organising anything sufficiently thorough to be likely to have any permanent effects.

Last, but by no means least, if sound and fury signify anything, we may mention Mr. George Smith of Coalville's maudlin meanderings among the van-dwellers. Mr. Smith went a-Gypsy-

¹ Vol. vi., No. 4 (Oct. 1890), p. 3; vii., No. 2 (April 1891).

² *Gipsy Smith's Life*, pp. 244-6.

ing, but of all living creatures in the great round world, Mr. Smith seems to have been the least imbued with, and the least attracted by, the vagrant spirit. Besides, he was a born missionary with a double portion of the missionary's chief failing, a painful habit of seriousness, which prevented him from seeing things in their true perspective, especially when dealing with a race whose last feature is seriousness. Misery he went out to find, and misery he found; and little wonder seeing that he sought it in this mortal world. The other side of the picture, and the fatalistic spirit which supports a Gypsy through storm and hardship, were utterly out of his ken, for like most sentimentally sympathetic persons he was devoid of all true sympathy with a nature which differed from his own. The wind and the rain, forced marches and the pinch of poverty, worried Mr. Smith appallingly, and that others could regard them lightly never entered his head. Had he stood by when Sampson's German Gypsy friend 'girned like a sorrowful wolf' and broke into a love-song in the midst of a summary eviction and a torrent of rain, or watched Leland's old 'professor' shake himself and chant a song of misery 'in a very jolly voice,' the sight would have touched no responsive chord in his heart; indeed, he would probably have scented strong liquors in their unseemly levity. Perhaps, however, Mr. Smith may be partly forgiven for his libels on Gypsy life on the score that he knew not what he did. Certainly he knew not a Gypsy from a 'mumpley' Gorgio tramp; and most of his time was spent among queer fish, who had been Gypsies 'nearly' all their lives, or even for much shorter periods, mere vagrants from necessity rather than choice. How much even they appreciated the Bill which he proposed on their behalf is shown by the formation of 'The United Kingdom Van-dwellers' Protection Association,' the one determined attempt they ever made to protect themselves. The Society numbered nearly one thousand members, and their meetings of protest were many and uproarious: 'They refused to agree that his measure was friendly, even in disguise.'¹

Of the rest of the acts of Mr. George Smith, and the good that he blunderingly tried to do, and the effect that a mere recital of it took on a Romani family, it were superfluous here to speak. Is it not written in the book of the chronicles of the Egyptians as recorded by Francis Hindes Groome,² how Silvanus Lovell, when asked for a criticism on one of Smith's letters, answered never a

¹ Swinstead, p. 57 *et seq.*

² *In Gipsy Tents*, Edinburgh, 1880, ch. viii.

word, but 'simply stooped and picked up Lementina's teapot . . . and hurled it against the opposite wall, remarking quietly, "There's your teapot all to atoms, Lementina; and (with an outburst) I wish to mi-Duvel George Smith's head were into it?"' And even if most of his readers are less reckless of their old china, and less certain of their Lementina's acquiescence in its destruction, they will, I think, heartily side with the lady who rose at one of the meetings of protest and adjured her benefactor in language more forcible than polite: 'Go 'ome, Smith; we don't want you, nor none of your 'ations.' Even a brother missionary admits that Smith used 'a certain hysterical exaggeration to work upon the feelings of the public,'¹ and adds his protests against the futile Bill. In spite, however, of all protests, and in defiance of common sense, the public seem to have accepted Mr. Smith's 'scroll written over with lamentation and woe' as a true account of Gypsy life, and have in the new Act practically accepted his 'reforms.'

Yet, after all, what is there in the Gypsy's life or character that stands in such need of reformation? All those who have studied his habits with unprejudiced minds have subscribed to Dr. Bright's remark that he had failed to find the marks of inherent depravity which were so obvious to others. That they are angels 'widout wings' no one would claim for them, but they can hardly be said to stand alone in that condemnation, and one may reasonably argue that like their lives their faults and 'particler wanities' are simpler, less serious, and more childlike than those of civilised humanity. The Gypsies are essentially children all their lives; and it is probably this trait in their character which so puzzles moralists, who with childhood have put off childish things and ceased to think as a child, ceased even to comprehend a child, or the rare but happy elder who still possesses the faculty of thinking as a child. The schoolboy code of honour remains a mystery to them; and it is practically by the schoolboy code of honour that the Gypsy regulates his duty towards his neighbour. They will 'take potatoes from a field, or fruit from an orchard,' but 'only what they need until they get to the next field or orchard,'² and only from a stranger's field; a friend's potatoes are sacred. Again, if the *jukal* happens to come home with a *kanengro* or a *shoshoi* in his mouth, it would be flying in

¹ Swinstead, pp. 58, 61, 98.

² *Gipsy Smith's Life*, p. 38 *et seq.*

the face of Providence to refuse to eat it;¹ and if the hedge contains precisely the class of *raniâ* required for making *trushni's*, 'why, then, who put them there?' But the moralist, forgetful of his youthful deeds of prowess—as he no doubt then regarded them—among his neighbours' blackberries and apples, or perhaps with St. Augustine lost in wonder at the depths of his own natural depravity, because he took those apples when he had plenty of apples, and better apples too, at home, cries out against the Gypsy's ineradicable tendency to petty larceny. Bear with him, good moralist; remember he is not educated up to forgery, embezzlement, company promoting, and the other politer vices; he does not 'find a few thousand or fail for a few'; he sins, but as a child sins, in taking what he needs when he finds it lying unprotected before him. Besides, now that the *gavengro* and the *pookenius* have contrived to knock his duty towards his neighbour tolerably into his head, even his petty pilferings are very limited. Indeed, the Gypsies are to a large extent paying for the sins of their remote ancestors. When they first invaded Europe, proclaiming themselves holy men, their actions were anything but holy. Yet, as an ancient chronicler complains, their pious professions passed for current coin: '*Noch ist die Welt so blind, will betrogen sein, meint sie sind heilig.*' Now the position is reversed. The Gypsies are the last who would lay claim to holiness, though their actions are inoffensive. Yet the world cries out on them as scoundrels. The one thing that has remained unchanged is the world's blindness—

*'Die Welt ist dumm, die Welt ist blind
 Wird täglich abgeschmackter!
 Sie spricht von dir,' Zigeuner—' Kind
 Du hast keinen guten Charakter.'*

But it is surely hard to visit the sins of the fathers on the twentieth generation.

Again, like children, they may out of lightness of heart and quickness of temper occasionally enjoy a '*báro chingariben*,' though nowadays it seldom goes so far as the famous fray where old Lizzie Brown² lost her frontal appendage and placidly inquired in a temporary lull, 'But in the middle o' the meantime where's my nose?' Such scenes, however, are not unknown among our 'civilised' poor; and anyhow the Gypsies' quarrels are con-

¹ Cf. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 34: 'Who do wild things run and fly for, if not for them as is wild themselves?'

² Simson, *History of the Gipsies*, London, 1865, p. 153.

fined to themselves, and their noses are their own to do what they like with. And that, like children, they enjoy a scrimmage there can be no unreasonable doubt. 'He was without true penitence,' says Crabb of a Gypsy unhappy enough to have the spirit left in him to enjoy a prize-fight a few months before he died of consumption; and 'surely the way of wickedness is full of misery,'¹ is the sagacious comment the spirit moves him to make thereon. Misery indeed! 'Dosta, we'll now go to the tents and put on the gloves, and I'll try to make you feel what a sweet thing it is to be alive, brother.'

Like children, too, and like Orientals, they set no store whatever by strict veracity; indeed they decidedly appreciate an artistic lie, being all of Ursula's way of thinking that 'a person may be a liar and a thief and yet a very honest' person. Nor is the belief without foundation, as their lies like their thefts are generally quite harmless, and often so transparent as to seem rather an eccentricity than a sin. This is particularly true of '*duker'ing*,' a practice which has been most severely treated by moralists. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is merely a jest to the Gorgio as well as to the *Romani dai*, and in the hundredth where the '*Gorgi dineli patser's laki's puk-kr'in*,' would it not be well to civilise the latter before troubling about the former? 'It is the fashion and the folly of the Gorgios that have to a large extent forced this disgraceful profession upon Gypsy women,'² and that the *hokhano báro* can still be played successfully in the year of grace 1904,³ reflects no more discreditably on the Gypsies than on the English.

There is little else that is urged against them save the heinous sin of 'unhallowed marriages'; and there again does not the sin lie largely in the reformer's point of view? A marriage as informal as a Gypsy's is perfectly legal under Scottish law; and being no lover of forms and ceremonies I see no sin therein, when the parties—as is almost invariably the case with Gypsy marriages—remain constant to each other throughout life. Can those who are wedded in cathedrals by archbishops cast the first stone at Charlotte Stanley?⁴

The Gypsy's faults then are mainly childish and natural; and

¹ Crabb, *Gipsies' Advocate*, London, 1831, p. 48.

² *Gypsy Smith's Life*, p. 9.

³ Cf. *Daily Telegraph*, September 10, 1904; an instance at Leicester.

⁴ Crofton quotes the case of a girl who, considering Gypsy marriage more binding than a marriage in church, deserted the Gorgio to whom she was legally united and lived for the rest of her life with a *tatcho Romanichal*.—*Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire*, Manchester Literary Club, *Papers*, vol. iii., Manchester, 1877, pp. 40-1.

in this weary old world where childhood and all things natural are fast dying an unnatural death, is it not a pity to seek to transform nature's children? Faun and fairy and all the merry company that once footed it in the sunlight to gladden simple hearts have died crushed by stern practicality; and must the Gypsy die too because he does 'but touch the honey of romance?' The Gypsy's life is the life of 'primeval man with primeval nature';¹ and surely England of all nations with its pride in its freedom and its open-air life, has the least right to blame any man for choosing the freedom of open-air life; and of all times in the world's history this twentieth century, with its awakening interest in open-air cures and its increasing agitation for the simple life, is the least appropriate time for broaching a project for ejecting from our midst the only real professors of the simple life. Mr. Smith, it is true, would have us believe that those who spend their days in the open are living in the valley of the shadow of death; but medical evidence is against Mr. Smith,² and even if one set but little stock and store by medical evidence, a full and sufficient answer to his bills of infant mortality is to be found in Groome's list of patriarchal families, gleaned haphazard from his Romany acquaintances.³ The mumpers, among whom Mr. Smith largely moved, coming pale and sickly from town slums, may perhaps be unable to bear the hardships of a wandering life, but the exact reverse is the case with the true Gypsy. The Archduke Josef's Gypsies were never ill until they were put into houses. Then they one and all fell victims to an epidemic of influenza, but recovered as soon as they were sent back to their tents.⁴ Crabb⁵ cites an instance where Gypsies who turned *kerengro's* for part of the year were invariably ailing during the period they spent in houses; and dozens of instances are forthcoming where Gypsies have declared they thought they would die if confined within four walls.⁶ The Gypsy does not wander merely 'to annoy, because he

¹ Jefferies, *Field and Hedgerow*, p. 163.

² I am indebted to Mr. Gallichan for a recent instance in point. This year, at an inquest held after the death of a man who had lived for many years in the Claremont Woods, Esher, Sussex, it was suggested that he died from exposure, but the doctor asserted that he had no doubt prolonged his life by living in the open.

³ *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 263; cf. also Hoyland, p. 38. Yet 'sanitary arrangements' were seriously discussed by the Newcastle Local Government Board in 1880; and, indeed, form part of the new Bill.

⁴ *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, Bd. iii. p. 3.

⁵ *Gipsies' Advocate*, 3rd ed., London, 1832, p. 31. Morwood, *Our Gipsies*, p. 115, gives a similar account of the king of the Yetholm Gypsies, and Mr. Gallichan one from Derbyshire.

⁶ *E.g.* Woodcock, *The Gipsies*, p. 40.

knows it teases' settled humanity, but because it is bred in him. 'For to behold and for to see, for to review this world so wide' may not, does not indeed from a material point of view do much good to the Gypsy, but he 'can't drop it, if he tried.' Besides, philanthropists should remember that the choice does not lie between a tent and a roomy palace—unless in their philanthropy they are prepared to provide each settled Gypsy with a palace—but between a clean and airy tent and the slums of towns and common lodging-houses. Old Matty Cooper declared he would rather *bash* in the *baval puv* than sleep in a *kradyin ker*;¹ and for my part I honour him therefor: and weakly *kerengro* though I am, when my choice once lay between three nights in an Italian steerage cabin, where as a philosophic fellow-passenger cheerfully assured me there were *basta di cime*, and the bare boards of an open deck, I emulated his choice, and got no harm, though *brishin* was added to the *baval*.

Hardships there no doubt are in the Gypsy's life, but one would have thought it wiser to encourage than to discourage a race of Mark Tapleys who can pass through hardships with unflinching jollity. The Gypsy feels no want of feather-beds and warming-pans; he is contented with life as he knows it; as contented at least as the other inhabitants of this discontented world. No doubt he sometimes grumbles and complains, especially when there is a *shukhâri* to be got by complaining. But to quote in all seriousness, as George Smith quotes from Smart and Crofton, the remarks made by some Gypsies pitching their tent on a cold and windy night, when to add to their discomforts they had no food ready, as a characteristic description of Gypsy life, is the height of absurdity. Record the first chance *kerengro's* remarks on coming home on a cold winter evening and finding his study fire unlit and his dinner unready; and if they do not give full and sufficient grounds for assuming that house-dwelling is a life of unbroken misery, then the *kerengro* on whom you have chanced is more than human; try the next. Or better still, step out and try a *Romano tan*; and, unless the tent in which I spent an hour a week or two ago, when the snow was falling and the cold north wind blowing, was an exception, you will cease to wonder at Gipsy Smith's brother for deserting a cottage for his old tent on the score that the cottage was so cold.

Was it the religious feeling moralists seek in vain that

¹ Cf. also V. S. Morwood, *Our Gipsies*, pp. 94-6.

prompted the old lady—one of the Smiths—who was *ker'ing* the *yek-hora hâben* in that *tan* to refuse to *gil* to me the old song, *Tugnis amandy*, though she declared she knew it well, 'cos it's *Kurko*, don't you *jin, minny Rai?*' And was it morality which reformers are so anxious to instil that made her refuse even to tell me a song she called the '*lubni gili*' 'cos the *chavi's* don't *jin* much of that sort of thing?' Or is it the naughtiness of my heart that suggests to me that lapse of memory had much to do with both refusals? At any rate I can assure the moralists that the sleeping accommodation of her tents—one for the men, one for the women, with flaps to let down and shut off each sleeper, and a shed for the children, 'cos I *kam's* my *chavi's*, and would rather be *shil* my *kokero* than *muk* them'—was such as no moralist could object to, and immeasurably superior to the condition of the 'civilised' poor in great cities, where five families can occupy a single room and feel quite comfortable till the family in the middle begins to take in lodgers. Her children attend school during the winter months when they are settled on a patch of ground belonging to them; and the family's good behaviour during that period is vouched for by their friendliness with the *gav-mush* under whose care they leave the shed and its contents during their wandering months. From the little I have seen of other families round Oxford, I believe her case is typical of most of them, though I must admit I am chary of asking questions which might stamp me as an inspector or a missionary. I am sorry to add that she is mated with a Gorgio; but, as usual, that has not contributed towards a settled life, and her married children are all on the road. Little wonder too, since they were born to it; for though it is neither a life of stage romance nor of pampered luxury, it is equally certainly not a life of 'dirt, squalor, and misery,' as George Smith and his sentimental friends would have us believe. And, after all, is 'civilised' life a thing of unalloyed bliss and happiness? For my part, I will confess to many dark and weary hours when life is anything but sweet to me, and 'I would wish to die,' even though it be by mine own hand. But therein I 'talk like a Gorgio, which is the same as talking like a fool.' Were I a *Romanichal*—one of Mr. Smith's 'ditch-dwelling Gypsies, camping half-naked in a hut, so-called, in the midst of slush and snow'—I should know that while the sun and the moon and the stars are in the sky, and the wind is on the heath, 'life is very sweet,' and should 'wish to live for ever.'

VI.—THE STATE *VERSUS* THE GYPSY

By WALTER M. GALLICHAN

REMINISCENT of the mediæval laws bearing upon vagabonds is this present international movement for the repression of the Gypsy race. In some of its aspects the crusade is sinister and callous; in others it is ludicrous and futile. It is the outcome of pleas raised by legislators who class the whole of the nomadic population of the countries of Europe under the title of 'Gypsy,' and to whose uninformed minds the word *Rom* conveys the same meaning as *wastrel*, or even criminal.

The question of vagabondage and mendicity is not simple, though the lawmakers in England in the reign of Henry VIII. conceived that the short and drastic way with the subject of the wander-fever would speedily rid the country of vagrants. That they failed to eradicate the tendency to rove is proved by the numerous statutes provided in succeeding reigns, and by the fact that a large number of the inhabitants of our islands at the present time are nomads, owning no fixed abode, and having no settled occupation.

In 1530 a convicted vagrant was flogged, and compelled to take an oath that he would return to the place of his birth, or where he had lived for a space of three years. Upon a second conviction, the offender was deprived of the upper portion of his right ear, according to 27, Henry VIII., 1535; and for a third offence he was sentenced to death. No doubt the worthy watchdogs of public order and decency, who framed these Acts, imagined that their severity would deter all but the most hardened of wanderers from going upon the road or soliciting alms. But the statutes did nothing of the kind; nor could the milder, but still rigorous, penalties of later Parliaments purge England of beggars and homeless travellers.

The prime defect of all governments is an ignorance of psychology. One might say that an ignorance of human nature characterises the average maker of laws. With the exception of a probable three or four members in a senate, who possess a more or less intimate knowledge of the nomad class, who else in the average governing body of a nation is fitted to pronounce upon the problem of vagrancy? One half of our legislators can be scarcely expected to know how tens of thousands of 'the

people 'really live. A practical investigator, with an instinct for scientific observation, like the late Josiah Flynt, goes on the road, and lives as a tramp amongst tramps, before he begins to form momentous sociological conclusions. Then the American Government, baffled by the vagrant problem, comes to him with a subsidy, and requests his information and aid. With a large measure of knowledge based on data, and considerably less hasty conjecture, the governments of civilised countries could stay the lavish and unnecessary expenditure of public funds in methods of tinkering with many social problems.

This preamble may make clear that the Gypsy Question is, in the main, a subject for the close attention of persons who know the Gypsy tribe and the psychology of the Romany brain. It is not an enigma which can be solved by those well-intentioned servants of the State, who cannot distinguish between a blood Gypsy and one of the swarming road-travellers, known up and down our countryside by such names as 'mumper,' 'tramp,' 'mugger,' 'cadger,'¹ and often miscalled 'Gypsy.'

The attitude of the ordinary respectable individual, legislator or otherwise, towards the Romany race requires a little consideration. I have heard, at evening parties, young gentlemen, in starched shirts and fashionable attire, singing with enthusiasm the delights of being 'homeless, ragged, and tanned under the changeful sky'; I have listened also to young ladies warbling the charms of the Gypsy and the joy of the greenwood tree. But these pleasant people have often an unfounded prejudice against the Romané, whom they, as often as not, wrongly recognise in every professional beggar, and in the proprietors of swingboats and cocoanut shies.

The gorgio regard for the Gypsy is perhaps at its base more hostile than curious. In its most hostile form, as in olden England, it killed even those who 'associated' with the Gypsies; while in France and Spain and elsewhere, throughout the fifteenth century and onwards, Philistine hatred was exhibited in the infliction of all kinds of cruel penalties upon the race of 'Egyptians.' This attitude is explained upon analysis as a primitive antipathy towards alien tribes, or towards members of the group or race who diverge from the normal type. Among animals we

¹ The term cadger was derived from *cadge*, to carry, and referred originally to carriers of market-baskets and to packmen. It is now applied to beggars and loafers.

find that the grey squirrel of a community of red squirrels is the object of aversion and persecution. When the people of 'little Egypt' swarmed into France, in the year 1427, the authorities of Paris refused the strangers admission to the city, and shut them up in La Chapelle, St. Denis, as undesirables or *cagoux*—i.e. 'unsociables.' This is probably the first recorded instance of the suspicion and dislike with which officialdom has regarded the Gypsy since his appearance in Europe. The wanderers were swarthy, mysterious, speaking a strange tongue, and practising curious customs; therefore, in the judgment of all conventional and decent citizens, they were the proper objects of persecution, to be 'moved on,' denied social rights, and harassed by every rigorous means that legislation could devise.

Now, this oppression of the Romané is of the same essence and spirit as that which inspires all people of deficient intelligence to annoy and affront both strangers and neighbours who show any degree of variation from the commonplace. It is the spirit which prompted an old drunken market-woman in a railway carriage, in which I was travelling, to taunt and insult two quiet and inoffensive Italians because they were 'foreigners.' It is the spirit which caused a crowd of hobbledehoys in Ponferrada, in Northern Spain, to pelt my wife with stones, and to follow her with jeers and abuse, because she wore a hat instead of a mantilla, and chose to take a walk by herself instead of in the company of a duenna or a caballero. It is the spirit of the dull, low type of brain, which vents its disapproval of any form of unfamiliarity, of any sort of unconventionality of appearance, dress, speech, and habit, by insolence, and often by violence of a physical kind.

And this specific example of Philistinism is not confined to the rabble of civilised countries. It is found, though in a less crude and coarse form, in that class of society which is known as polite or refined. It is the unreasoned, the impulsive, antipathy of the ordinary and pattern-moulded man and woman for nonconformity of conduct, thought, and practice. To be 'out of the ordinary' or 'peculiar' is an offence against public decency and order. That is the misdemeanour for which the Romany tribes of Europe are being pursued at the present time. It recalls the story of the schoolboy, who, seeing a toad in the garden, dispatched it with a hoe, remarking, 'I'll teach you to be a toad!'

What are these enormities practised by the Gypsies, which have aroused the statesmen of France, Belgium, and Switzerland to a

campaign of repression which is both harsh and farcical? The Romané are being made to realise that it is an offence to be Romané. What other crime has been brought against them? We read that an international conference, convened with the object of 'expelling the Gypsies from Europe,' will be held at Berne next summer. It has been stated that Great Britain will send representatives to this singular conclave. This, however, has been denied by both the Foreign and Home Offices in reply to Mr. Yoxall, M.P., one of the very few among our legislators who understand the Gypsy Question. We are glad to learn that our countrymen will not lend their counsels to this policy of tyrannous interference with the Romany people.

The *Journal Officiel*, of the French Republic, dated October 30, 1907, contains a complete report of the debate upon the Romanichels, and the fate which the legislature decrees for them. There is no mistaking the spirit of prejudice which I have attempted to analyse in the opening pages of this article. The Gypsy is an obnoxious animal, a menace to the security of the rural population, a felon, to be banished from all civilised countries forthwith. M. Fernand David calls upon the State to prevent 'the incursions of the bands of Gypsies that infest our territory,' and the question of harrying the nomads is discussed with zest.

According to the report before me, M. David declares that on July 3, 1907, thirty-four Gypsies arrived on the Franco-Swiss frontier, were detained by the Swiss customs, and remained encamped upon Swiss soil for twenty-one days. The band then attempted to re-enter Switzerland, and were sent back by the gendarmes into France. Who were these people, shuttlecocked to and fro by the French and Swiss authorities? They were of three families, comprising seven adults and twenty-seven children, and they were on their way to join the rest of the tribe at the fair of Colmar. Their brethren were said to possess sixty vehicles, and it is reported that the whole tribe was split up into parties, all having Germany as their destination. The names of the heads of the three families are instructive. They are Henri Rodenheimer, Mathias de Reinhardt, and Goby de Reinhardt.

Between Switzerland and Germany there exists a convention, whose object is to diminish German vagabondage in the Swiss Confederation, and from the constitution of this compact, I gather that it is practically impossible for Gypsies to cross Swiss territory in order to enter Germany or France. The unfortunate Rein-

hardts, though armed with a note from the German consul at Geneva, were impeded by gendarmes at every point. Attempting to enter Germany by way of l'Ain, the Jura, le Doubs, and Bel-fort, the band was ultimately refused admission into Germany, and, according to M. David, 'they still continue to infest' French territory.

This is only one instance of the 'moving on' methods adopted by the governments of Europe. The situation is ludicrous. Ostensibly the measures are for the protection of the people against mendicants and alien vagabonds; but we read of groups of Romanichels, possessing vans and horses, and exhibiting every sign of prosperity, for in one case a leader of a band offered the French Republic ten thousand francs for permission to remain in the country.

At Nancy, where a number of nomads were held up and imprisoned in a disused convent, surrounded by armed infantry, the chief produced £400 in paper, £3000 in gold, and sundry bank books, proving the possession of twice this amount. Are these the wastrels and beggars who menace the security of a community? Are these the undesirables whose destitution is likely to become a burden upon society?

In June 1907 a gang of 'marauders' were reported as waging terror in the neighbourhood of La Tremblade, Charente-Inférieure. According to the Paris correspondent of the *London Globe*, the band was well organised, and consisted of dangerous criminals with 'previous convictions.' It is very doubtful whether any of these bandits were 'blood-Gypsies.' The 'facts' bear the suggestion of being highly coloured by the French police; moreover, we know quite well that all wandering folk are not 'Gypsies,' though they usually go by that name in rural districts. In France, as in Great Britain, the Romané are made the scapegoats for the sins of the habitual cadger or criminal, who takes to the road and lives by the exercise of his cunning.

The harrying from place to place is, in one aspect, comical, but in others it is cruel as well as futile. A Gypsy family of eight persons was held up on the Franco-Belgian frontier at Mont St. Martin, and refused an entrance into either territory. Fed at the expense of the municipality, the Gypsies were still detained on February 4, 1908, and there seemed to be no solution as to their disposal. The gendarmes have built a hut for themselves, and the Gypsies live in their caravans. This cat-and-mouse game,

which had been played for four months on February 4 of this year, had cost the townsfolk of Mont St. Martin the considerable sum of £43, 4s. 2d. up to that date.

A 'catch' of 'Romanichels,' so-called, made in France while I was writing this article, has now been proved to be a band of army deserters wandering about in the guise of nomads to avoid the attention of the military powers. How often does this false identification of the loafer or mendicant as a 'Gypsy' lead to unfounded suspicions against the genuine Romané? I believe, upon the evidence of the journals and documents before me, that in most cases the detained and suspected persons are pseudo-Gypsies, and that the true Gypsy who follows an occupation either as a pedlar or horse-dealer—and who is frequently well-to-do—suffers for the sins of the idle, roving ragamuffin who has neither craft nor calling, and is often an habitual criminal. The new proposed law in France respecting vagabondage and mendicity has been presented to the Chamber of Deputies by an imposing list of representatives. It is a modified form of the measure presented in 1899 by M. Jean Cruppi. Vagabonds and mendicants are divided into three groups: (1) The sick and infirm; (2) The casual or involuntary unemployed; (3) The group of true offenders and of dangerous professionals.

Now, the Gypsy cannot be included in this category. He is not a subject for either of these groups. The Romany race is a healthy one, and the tribe pays due care to members who are ill or infirm. Gypsies are not to be ranked among the unemployed, for they have occupations, and in many instances their industries are lucrative. Nor is the Gypsy one of the criminal class.

So much for the classification. I will now examine briefly the Articles of the law. The first Article expresses that begging and vagabondage are forbidden upon the soil of the Republic. As a 'vagabond' connotes one who wanders, we can readily surmise how this Article can be stretched to embrace Gypsies. But according to Article 3, 'punishable vagabonds' are those who have no fixed domicile, no means of subsistence, who follow no calling or profession, and those who do not seek work, or who refuse remunerative work when offered. Here again, although the Gypsy is a nomad, he has means of subsistence, and he practises a calling, and cannot rightly, therefore, come under the technical description of 'vagabond.'

All suspected persons are to be brought before the Justice of the

Peace of the canton in which they are arrested (Art. 4). If they are incapable of work, they are to receive assistance. On the other hand, those judged as vagrants are to be imprisoned for a term of from six days to three months; for the second offence, from three months to a year; for the third, from one to two years; for the fourth, from two to three years; and for the fifth, from three to seven years.

Besides this penalty—which menaces even the affluent Gypsy who ‘wanders’—every ‘vagabond’ must have a card of identity, or, in other words, a label or stigma, as though wandering were a crime. That there is the greatest risk of the unoffending suffering with the real delinquent, on the charge of an injudicious or malicious official, goes without saying.¹

Let us now turn to the Bill presented in the British Parliament during February 1908, by Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, which provides for the registration and regulation of movable dwellings, and the enforcement of the school attendance of children in such dwellings. There is perhaps utility in the proposal to register living-vans and tents, and to regulate them, while the question of enforced education has much to be said in its favour. But ‘regulation’ may become so strict and the laws so stringent that the Gypsy may be driven from the heath and the road into the slum hovels, where he will undoubtedly languish, and lose that hereditary vigour which places him above the house-dweller in the matter of health.

The Movable Dwellings Bill has seventeen clauses. It provides for cubic space, the separation of the sexes, ‘convenience of accommodation,’ cleanliness, and the prevention of infectious disease. The term ‘movable dwelling’ includes ‘tents and other structures capable of being moved from place to place, and also vans, carts, carriages, wagons, and other vehicles which shall be used for purposes of abode or residence, excepting vehicles temporarily used by shepherds, labourers, or other persons, for farming, agricultural, or other like purposes.’ The proposed Act is to come into operation on January 1, 1909, and it does not extend to Scotland or Ireland. For the first offence under this law the fine is fixed at forty

¹ The objections to such cards of identity are clearly stated in a recently published book, *The Elimination of the Tramp*, by Edmond Kelly (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1908), p. 25 note and p. 64. This panacea for vagrancy is no new thing, for Borrow quotes a Spanish law of 1586 which prohibited Gypsies from trading unless they were provided with certificates to prove that they had settled residences (*Zincali*, pt. i. ch. xi.).

shillings, and for subsequent infractions at twenty shillings for every day during which the said offence continues.

Whether the object of this Bill is to drive the Gypsy from the countryside—for it is well known that even in England the Romané may be regarded as a nuisance—or whether it is designed, not only in the public interest generally, but for the well-being of the nomadic population, the measure is one that requires careful watching on the part of those who, in upholding the liberty of the subject, do not exclude the Gypsies from the social community. The danger lies in every attempt, overt or secretly astute, to force the Romany people to change their whole system of living, to cage these freedom-loving children, and to deteriorate the race through the foisting of modes of existence unnatural to them.

The suggestion that the Gypsies would benefit by adopting the habits of the gorgio is scarcely sincere. Red Indians and Maoris have not improved under the conditions imposed upon them by alien and more powerful races, but on the contrary; for subject people, as a rule, suffer physically, and in many cases morally, by the imposition of 'civilised' customs. If laws and regulations of a repressive nature are employed against the Romané, and the passion of wandering is treated as a crime,¹ the inevitable consequence will be the slow but sure extinction of that remarkable race, who, for several centuries, in spite of oppression, have lived the free and healthy life that they love.

At a time when apostles of the new creed of the open-air living are urging the town-pent native to 'return to nature' and to live in camps during the summer, it behoves all who are attracted to the Gypsy life to recognise the efforts of legislators to repress the very people who have for generations set the example of a primitive simplicity of existence.

The Movable Dwellings Bill affects not only the real nomads of this country, but all those amateurs who spend their holidays in caravans and tents. I commend the Bill for the consideration of the Cyclist Campers' Club, the many boating campers of the Thames and elsewhere, to say nothing of the aristocratic ryes who own sumptuous living-vans.

In so far as the Gypsy comes under the penalties of the law relating to larceny, obtaining money under false pretences, or any

¹ Cf. Borrow, *Zincali*, pt. i. ch. x. *A Discourse addressed by Dr. Sancho De Moncada to Philip the Third*: 'And it is a doctrine entertained by theologians, that the mere act of wandering, without anything else, carries with it a vehement suspicion of capital crime.'

indictable offence, let him be dealt with like any other evildoer of the country in which he wanders. But to restrict his wandering is a harsh and unnecessary policy, for the Gypsy is not dangerous simply because he has no fixed dwelling-place. Year by year his camping-places are growing scarcer; year by year it is more difficult for him to live as his forefathers lived. A writer in the *Tribune*, January 3, 1908, says truly 'the statesmen of Europe are conspiring to wipe out the last traces of the Romany from the Western Continent. A very strong protest will undoubtedly be made against such a narrow-minded and stupid policy.' Such is the protest which those who have authoritative knowledge of the Gypsy, his ways, his history, and his speech and lore are making in the present issue of this Journal.

VII.—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT, 1892-1906

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

1892

MARY BOSWELL, Gypsy hawker and planet ruler, charged with fortune-telling at Dukinfield (*Preston Guardian*, December 12, 1892).

1893

Portrait and account of 'Gipsy Smith,' born March 1860 in the tent of Cornelius and Mary Smith at Woodford Forest, Epping (*Temperance Star*, May 1893, pp. 485-6).

The *Colwyn Bay Weekly News*, June 29, 1893, amongst the visitors at Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, entered 'Rye ta Rawnee Hotchi-witchi, Rye Petulengro, I tarni Hotchiwitchior, Trin Gryor, Dui Chukkalor, at The Camp.'

1894

The Nameless City, a Romany Romance by Fergus Hume, London, 1894, contains tags of Romanes.

Caroline Smith, an old Gypsy woman, buried at Blackpool Cemetery (*Blackpool Gazette*, October 12, 1894).

John Young, *alias* Fiddler Jack, one of a party of Gypsies, died and was buried at Withernsea, and his van, clothes, bedding, china, and fiddle were burned, so that 'his widow might be penniless and not be wooed for what she was worth, and for three months she would have to earn her own living and not be helped by relatives' (*Manchester Evening News*, September 18, 1894).

John Roberts, the Welsh harpist of Newtown, born at Llan-rhaiadr in 1816, died at Newtown, May 12, 1894. He started life as a drummer in the 23rd Regiment, in which he served about ten years. Later he trained the Machynlleth Drum and Fife Band, and in 1889 he and his family gave a concert before her late Majesty Queen Victoria at Bala. He was a great athlete and fisherman (*Montgomeryshire Express*, May 15, 1894). For further information see Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 269, *et passim*.

R. W. S. Griffith wrote on 'The Gypsies of the New Forest' in *Hampshire Field Club Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 277.

1895

On March 17 the *Chicago Inter Ocean* referred to a report in the *New York Herald* that 'Prince Williams,' leader of the Connecticut Gypsies, had died at East Hartford, owning an hotel and real estate there, and other property worth more than \$100,000, acquired by horse-dealing. He was sixty-two years old, came from Devonshire forty years ago, and was twenty years in East Hartford. He systematically travelled in the summer and fall in handsome, well-equipped wagons. He left a widow and three sons. His son 'Wash' died in 1891. Gypsies from all over the East attended the funeral. Eight black horses drew the hearse.

The *Sketch*, September 4, 1895, gave portraits of Ned Boswell and Sarah Boswell (*æt. ninety*), of Blackpool, with an article 'The Gipsy of To-day.'

The *Manchester Guardian*, on October 9, 1895, gave an account of 'The Bataillard Gipsy Collection,' then recently acquired by the Manchester Free Library.

1896

Notes about Charles Bosvile, 'a Yorkshire King of the Gypsies,' who was buried at Rossington, near Doncaster, January 30, 1708-9, and who, according to Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, was 'a gentleman with an Estate of about £200 a year,' and the Gypsies said he was their king and visited his grave annually (*Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, May 9, 1896).

Theodore Watts published at intervals in the *Athenæum* 'Rhona Boswell's Love Letters, or Idylls of Gypsy Dell' (June 8, 1895; May 9, August 1, November 14 and 28, 1896). These have since been republished in book form, *The Coming of Love, and Other Poems*, by Theodore Watts-Dunton, which was reviewed in the *Athenæum*, November 6, 1897, p. 625.

The *Manchester Guardian*, January 2, 1896, contained a paragraph giving the census of Gypsies in Hungary on the last day of 1893—total 274,940, of whom 82,045 spoke only Romanes. The Vienna Geographical Society's *Mitteilungen* in October had an article on the same subject—243,432 were sedentary.

The *Athenæum*, March 28, 1896, pp. 410-11, reviewed '*Kriegspiel*,' by F. H. Groome.

The *Blackpool Gazette*, September 8, 1896, contained an article headed 'In a Gipsy Camp at South Shore,' giving an account of Sarah Boswell.

Good Words, January 1896, pp. 120-6, contained 'With the East Anglian Gypsies,' by W. A. Dutt, with five illustrations by E. J. Sullivan.

The *Athenæum*, October 17, 1896, reviewed W. A. Dutt's *George Borrow in East Anglia*.

The *Local Government Journal*, July 18, 1896, gave 'The Law as to Gipsies.'

The *Athenæum*, November 14, 1896, reviewed John Buchan's *Scholar Gipsies*; a book about travelling scholars, not Romani folk.

1897

The *Local Government Journal*, January 2, 1897, recorded that bye-laws for dealing with Gypsies had been refused to the London County Council by the Home Secretary, and on January 9, 1897, that similar bye-laws proposed by the Enfield Council had also been refused.

The *Liverpool Daily Post*, about July 28, reported 'a remarkable tale' headed 'Stolen by Gypsies,' which was told by the widow of Henry George Pickett York Lee. He was a tailor, aged fifty-three, and died at Camberwell, London, from taking spirits of lemon 'while temporarily insane.' The story as told was very complicated, and when disentangled runs as follows:—In 1844 'Squire' Wagg of Chingford in Essex (who was alleged to be 'abroad' in 1897, but neither he nor his family can be traced in any Essex history or directory) had, by Charlotte Powell, a son, who was the deceased; and this son was brought up by Gypsies, from whom apparently he acquired the surname of Lee. He enlisted in the army in 1852 (when he would only be eight years old!) because when he was with some Gypsies and Squire Wagg on Epsom Downs, he, with a dagger, placed in his hand by his own father, stabbed 'a lady,' who was his subsequent wife's mother. This

murder cannot be traced in the *Times Index*. About the same time apparently as the birth of his son in 1844, Squire Wagg had by Mary Ann Ellis (who was the woman murdered by Lee at Epsom) a daughter, who was 'shortly after sold' to some Gypsies named Lee, who placed her with Rebecca Durham, who lived in Collingwood Street, Shoreditch, and whose sister 'Black Mary' two or three years later 'stole her and her birthright documents,' put her into a workhouse infirmary for a time, and then took her out. All these events must have followed in rapid succession, for in 1846 this unlucky two-year-old infant, who had been already sold and stolen, was again 'stolen'; this time by a Gypsy named Johnson, who was related to the Durhams, and who took her to a ship at Wapping and threw her overboard. She was rescued, however, by a negro cabin-boy named Jack Watson, and then sent to 'Black Betty Benn,' who was a Gypsy and lived at Wapping. When she had been there with Betty Benn for six months (she would be then about three years old), a negro brought Mary Ann Ellis to the house and said she was the child's aunt; but it was discovered that Ellis was her mother, 'and they all left.' She met the deceased man (her illegitimate half-brother) in November 1896, and married him a month later, and in May 1897 she met a friend who revealed the blood relationship; and her husband confessed that he had murdered her mother, and had also seen a murder committed at a card-party at Salter's Hill, Norwood, about 1877. *Credat Judæus!*

Rhoda Ann Smith, hawker, convicted at Colne, Co. Lancaster, of fortune-telling (*Manchester Guardian*, August 28, 1897).

Madame, on October 16, 1897, p. 184, gave a view from a photograph of "a gipsy encampment near Exeter," showing a van, three carts, and two tents.

The *Athenæum*, November 6, 1897, p. 635, contained a letter from F. H. Groome, calling attention to the Göttingen quarterly *Orient und Occident*, 1864, pp. 104-6, as giving a Kurdish vocabulary of 102 words by Dr. Friedrich Müller, which contained 24 Gypsy words.

The *Athenæum*, in a review of *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, published by the Scottish History Society, called attention to a statement that in 1651 'there are about an hundred people of severall nations, call'd heere by the name of Egyptians, which doe att this day ramble uppe and downe the North Highlands; the cheifest of which are one Hause and Browne: they are of the

same nature with the English Gypsies, and doe after the same manner cheate and cosen the country.'

1898

The *Times*, April 29, 1898, contained an advertisement asking for an account of the 'Queen of Gipsies' death, Ann Lee, last of her race, turned six years ago.' She was born at Ely, Cambridgeshire, in 1806, her maiden name was Johnson; died 1892. Note by F. H. Groome: Ann Lee (1736-84) founded the American Shakers; was daughter of John Lee, blacksmith; was born in Toad Lane, Manchester, 1736; and in 1762 married Abraham Stanley, blacksmith. Was she a Gypsy?

The *Globe*, June 17, 1898, contained an article on Meg Merrilees' prototype, *à propos* of crowning the Gypsy king at Yetholm.

The *Manchester City News*, on August 20, 1898, recorded the marriage of John Harris to Sylvester Thorpe at King's Lynn, with a Gypsy named Prince as 'best man,' and about fifty Gypsies revelling and feasting. Their van cost £150.

The *Athenæum*, May 7, 1898, p. 591, reviewed Captain Burton's *The Jew, The Gypsy, and El Islam*, in which Burton reviewed Bataillard's reviews, and claimed originality for the Jat theory of Gypsy origin.

The *Scotsman*, May 31, 1898, contained an account of the coronation of the Gypsy king at Yetholm, namely, Charles Faa Blyth, son of Queen Esther Faa Blyth, whose right to the crown was disputed by David Blyth, of Chirnside, and his son William.

The *Athenæum*, September 10, 1898, announced the coming publication of a work by Dr. A. Thesleff, a Finnish scholar, on the Language, Life, and Manners of the Gypsies of Northern Sweden and Norway, amongst whom he had spent several months.

On October 13, 1898, Beatrice Small, a Gypsy, was charged before the county magistrates at Liskeard with obtaining from Ann Yeo at Lanreath the sum of £7, 2s. 6d., from Ann Whell the sum of £6, 5s., and from Catherine Swiggs the sum of £2, 10s. She was sent to the Quarter Sessions at Bodmin, and was sentenced to six months' hard labour on October 18.

The *Athenæum*, December 10, 1898, reviewed *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, by F. H. Groome.

1899

The *Athenæum*, May 20, 1899, announced the fourth edition of *The Coming of Love*, by Watts-Dunton (see 1896).

Dr. W. E. A. Axon sent to *Notes and Queries* an English translation of 'The Master Thief,' as published by Mr. John Sampson in *Otia Merseiana* (Liverpool University College) in Welsh Gypsy and Latin. Dr. Axon also sent a paragraph from *Xenia* (*Ohio*) *Gazette*, June 16, 1899, about Henry Jaffrey, a missing Gypsy 'prince,' aged nineteen, 'by birth English Gypsy.'

Notes and Queries contained an inquiry by Frederick G. Ackerley for the whole Romani Ghili, beginning 'Jawl in the ker, my honey,' and Mr. W. E. A. Axon referred to the verse in Borrow's *Wild Wales*, chapter xcvi., and to another version in Professor Knapp's *Life of George Borrow*, ii. 238, and to a somewhat similar verse in the same book.

The *Standard*, March 13, 1899, the *Athenæum*, March 25, 1899, pp. 361-3, and *Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1899, reviewed Knapp's *Life of George Borrow*.

The *Daily Telegraph*, August 21, 1899, recorded the conviction of Alfred Smith, James Smith, and George Loveridge, for assaulting the police on Sevenoaks Common.

The *New York Evening Post*, December 27, 1899, and *Notes and Queries*, March 10, 1900, contained a letter by Leo Wiener (of Cambridge, Massachusetts) calling attention to Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* (Oxford, 1897, ii. 211), which was written in 1266, and stated that 'wise Æthiopians have come to Italy and Spain, and France and England, and by occult arts they drive the dragons out of their caves,' etc.¹

¹ GYPSIES IN ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.—Professor Leo Wiener, of Harvard College, the learned author of the *History of Yiddish Literature*, has recently suggested that there were gypsies in England in the thirteenth century. Writing to the *New York Evening Post*, he says:—

'No direct proof of the presence of gypsies in Western Europe before 1417 has as yet been given. I think I have discovered one. In Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* (Oxford, 1897, vol. ii. p. 211), which was written in 1266, there is a discussion of the theriac, after which Bacon speaks of the corresponding sovereign remedy of the Æthiopians: "The reptile that the Æthiopians eat is the dragon, as David says in the Psalm, 'Thou gavest him to be meat to the people of the Æthiopians.' For it is well known that wise Æthiopians have come to Italy and Spain, and France and England, and those countries of the Christians where there are good flying dragons, and that by occult arts which they possess they drive the dragons out of their caves, and they have saddles and bridles in readiness, and ride on them, and urge them in the air to swift flight, so that the rigidity of their flesh is weakened, and its toughness reduced, just as boars and bears and oxen are baited by dogs and tormented by various persecutions before they are killed for eating. After they have thus reduced them, they have an art of preparing their flesh, even as the art of preparing the flesh of the tyre, and they partake of it against accidents of old age, and prolong their lives and make their intellects subtle beyond all estimation." Leaving out all the legendary matter, it is evident that Bacon is trying to account for the presence of a dark-skinned race in Western Europe which is versed in magic arts. There is no possibility of applying this description to any other people but

The *Middleton Guardian* (Lancashire), January 14, 1899, gave an account of a young Gypsy woman who was a lace hawker and fortune-teller.

The *Queen*, March 11, 1899, p. 403, in an article on 'Spain in 1898,' gave photographic views of Gypsy Quarter, Granada; Gypsies' Caves, Granada; a Gypsy Cave (interior, showing a quantity of pots and pans, etc.); and Mariano Fernandez, chief of the Gypsies.

1900

Country Life Illustrated, July 14, 1900, pp. 46-7, gave photographic views of Italian or Croatian Ursari: (1) a man and two women in a shelter-tent, smoking; (2) two bears; (3) the whole caravan, two vans, two men, two women, three boys, two girls, two monkeys, one bear; (4) bears dancing. The photographs were by C. Reid, of Wishaw, Scotland.

The *Manchester City News*, September 8, 1900, reviewed *The Last of the Climbing Boys*, by George Elson, which tells of chimney-sweeping and of roving for years with Gypsies and others, and of their cant language:—

<i>Nix</i> , nothing.	<i>Tuggy</i> , sooty cloth.
<i>Win buster</i> , penny roll.	<i>Deacon</i> , scraper.
<i>Pike the lew</i> , leave the top	<i>Switch</i> , brush.
part unswept.	<i>Queer</i> , soot.
<i>Mang</i> , beg.	<i>Prod</i> , horse.
<i>Splorger</i> , mistress.	<i>Drag</i> , cart.
<i>Cant</i> , piece.	<i>Parney</i> , rain.
<i>Panam</i> , bread.	<i>Puv</i> , field.
<i>Spreadham</i> , butter.	<i>Glim</i> , fire.
<i>Fe</i> , meat.	<i>Gigar</i> , door.
<i>Cas</i> , cheese.	<i>Lag</i> , water.
<i>Feiker</i> , chimney-sweep.	<i>Spuds</i> , potatoes.
<i>Feik</i> , <i>feikment</i> , things which	<i>Dolly</i> , servant.
had no cant name.	<i>Cosh</i> , stick.
<i>Deiking</i> , looking.	<i>Ogles</i> , eyes.

the gipsies. When we consider that later they were generally believed to be Egyptians, that they were supposed to come from "little Egypt," that they foretold the future, no doubt can remain of the identity of Bacon's Æthiopians with the gipsies.'

It would be interesting to know what is thought of this passage by Romani students. Will it bear the interpretation of the advent of a wandering tribe; or does it only refer to isolated instances of learned visitors from distant lands vaguely described as Ethiopians? What does Bacon mean by the words he attributes to David, 'Dedisti eam escam populis Æthiopum'?—WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

Chif, knife.

Ken, house.

Mug, face.

Cadie, cap.

Crib, barn.

The *Daily Mail*, April 7, 1900, recorded the arrest of Amos Boswell at Huddersfield, and his telegrams to Fanny Boswell at Wellington Inn, Greenfield, and Ennin Gray, Gypsies' vans, Brighthouse, telling them to go to the Mush Kitchimer, the meaning of which Boswell would not tell.

The *Stockport Advertiser*, May 11, 1900, recorded an inquest on Phoenix Smith's death, through falling from a horse. His wife Elizabeth gave evidence, also Albert Boswell, another horse-dealer.

1901

The *Daily Telegraph*, May 17, 1901, recorded the death of Sammy Lee, 'the Gipsy King, at West Ham Infirmary, aged 103, leaving a sister aged 102. Lee was born in 1798 on the borders of Suffolk and Norfolk. Gipsy Lee, the famous fortune-teller of the Devil's Dyke [Brighton], is reported to be a sister of his.'

The *Manchester City News*, May 25, 1901, gave a *résumé* of an article on Hungarian Tsiganes from the *Universal and Ludgate Magazine*. About 150,000 Tsiganes in Hungary, best seen in Nagy-Karpad district, forbidden by law to live within town or village. They camp near forests in single-roomed huts devoid of furniture, and eat and sleep on bare boards; a sandstone pot hangs all day long over a smouldering fire; they eat whenever hungry, generally potatoes, stews, milk, and lard, occasionally hedgehogs, foxes, and squirrels; cats are a princely diet. They train dogs to hunt foxes and hedgehogs. They elect chiefs every seven years by universal suffrage, and a silver crown is put on the elect's head; he is given a plate of meat adorned with flowers, and a bottle of wine, which he drinks at once and then breaks the bottle.

On November 20 the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* recorded the death in Upper Nithsdale Poorhouse, Dumfriesshire, of Johnnie Morgan, who was born aboard ship in the Irish Channel, and claimed therefore to be neither Scotch, English, nor Irish, though he spoke with an Irish accent. He was 'about eighty,' or older, and, after being a harvester, began 'about fifty years ago' with a donkey-cart to hawk hones, scythes, sand, etc., in Ayrshire. He slept under an awning over his cart. He was reputed to be the prototype of Mr. Crockett's *Silver Sand*.

1902

The *Lancashire Daily Post*, April 23, 1902, recorded the death, at Kirk Yetholm, of Charles Faa Blythe, crowned king of the Border Gypsies in 1898. It gave his portrait in his crown and robes of state. According to other newspapers about the same date, he was between seventy and eighty years old, and left a widow and family. He led a wandering life till far past middle age.

About August 1902, Gypsies with caravans arrived at Rhyl, North Wales, and pretended a wedding was to take place and to be followed by three weeks' festivities. They arranged an elaborate feast at an inn, and then persuaded the landlord to buy several things from them, and practised the same artifice on a bootmaker, a gamedealer, a butcher, a confectioner, and other tradesmen, in this way inducing the purchase from them of bearskin rugs, etc. They travelled on somewhere else during the night. *Báro hokkano!*

1903

The following particulars are gleaned from Scottish newspapers about April 1903:—'Queen' Elizabeth, otherwise Betsy Boswell, from Blackpool, Co. Lancaster, while travelling with her tribe in Scotland, died, aged seventy-six, at Callender Riggs show-ground, near Falkirk, in November last [1902], and was buried in the cemetery there. Her goods, including five bags of valuable costumes, a solid silver George III. tea-service, forks, tea-spoons, antique china, etc., were 'destroyed.' Her van, which cost £130, 'has yet to be consigned to the flames.' The funeral comprised twenty coaches and a hearse with four horses, and cost 'over a hundred pounds'; and it was proposed by the Boswells, 'who are amongst the richest and noblest of the race,' to erect a 'handsome memorial' over her grave, and to have crowned her favourite and youngest daughter Annie, aged thirty-two (who was elected to succeed), in the Waverley Market, Edinburgh, on April 5, 1903, but the ceremony was postponed till early next month as Annie was 'in the south of London'; and it was further adjourned till spring of next year at Falkirk, as the tribe, which numbers about a hundred and fifty scattered over the United Kingdom, America, and Australia, were to meet at Wishaw Fair next month to arrange details. Falkirk was to be the tribe's home in future. Border authorities say Betsy only ruled a tribe, and that the Gypsies' true sovereign was Robert Blythe Rutherford, eldest brother of King

Charles, who died at Kirk Yetholm in the spring of last year [1902]. [Neither Betsy nor Annie occur in the Boswell genealogy given on pages 252-4 of Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, 1875.]

The *Daily Telegraph* of June 5 recorded that, on June 3, a 'party of Servian Gypsies from France,' with six bears, camped near Esher, whence they moved to Hersham.

The *Preston Guardian*, June 27, 1903, mentioned, from *Great Thoughts*, the views of Theodore Watts-Dunton that Gypsies are very gifted and very highly musical, their charm is frankness and simplicity, and they are exceedingly conscientious to each other, believing in the *Romani sap* or conscience. 'As they walk through the woods, every few yards they break off a twig or pull off a certain number of leaves in a peculiar way, so that Gypsies know where a Gypsy has been.'

The *Preston Guardian*, July 25, 1903, reported proceedings against Herbert and M'Kenzie Young, Haros Smith, Haros Robinson, and Herbert Townsend, Gypsies from South Shore, Blackpool, over an affray with *gájos*.

The *Pall Mall Magazine* contained, amongst other reminiscences by Lady Bloomfield, one relating that the third Earl of Malmesbury told one of her nieces that, when he was Lord Harris, he commanded the Hampshire Yeomanry, and, on his way to a review in a field near Christchurch, his orderly twice bade a Gypsy woman at the field gate to open it, and she retorted, 'One day your bones will whiten in that field,' and more than forty years later the field became a cemetery. Lady Bloomfield's *Reminiscences* were published in 1883 in two volumes by Kegan Paul and Co., London.

In *The City of the Magyars*, by T. Berkeley Smith (Fisher Unwin, London), is a description of Racz Laczi, as a Gypsy violinist and conductor, who 'grasps six bows and plays a motif with all six at once, and then drops each in turn.'

A newspaper contained an account of a visit to a Gypsy camp comprising four vans, at Pitsea, Essex. One of the families was named Arthur. Arthur's father was a *gájo*, but his mother (*æt*. eighty-eight) was *tatchi Romani*, and preferred a *tan* to a *wardo*. Two of Arthur's daughters married house-dwellers. A daughter aged seven was named Genty. Arthur mentioned Lees, Philpots, and Smiths; was a basket-maker, chair and sieve-mender, and his wife was a hawker of household ornaments. He propounded the

following question: 'Suppose you had twenty policemen, twenty parsons, and twenty gypsies, where'd you find the most mischief?' In late summer, he said, they crossed to Woolwich for fruiting and hop-picking in Kent.

The Glasgow and other newspapers reported a successful action brought by Mary Ann Smith or Lovell (*æt.* fifty-two) of Vinegar Hill Show-grounds, Glasgow, against Christopher Lovell, son of her husband's brother, of the same place, for a decree declaratory of marriage. She went to New York in 1866, and joined a band of Gypsies. In New Jersey in 1868 she and her cousin, William Lovell, were married, Gypsy-fashion, by joining hands and promising each other before the rest of the tribe, without any other ceremony. They came to Scotland about February 1876, and settled in Glasgow in a van at Vinegar Hill, where William died July 2, 1903, childless. He left goods worth £357. Dr. Thomas Mowat of Clydebank deposed 'from personal knowledge' that the Gypsy marriage custom was as stated. Lord Kincairney decided that it was a valid marriage.

Near Drumflowers, six miles from Stranraer, the body of a travelling tinsmith named Henry Marshall, 'aged thirty and married,' was found by the roadside.

1904

In *The Gallovidian* magazine (Maxwell, Dumfries) Mr. A. McCormick published a series of articles on 'Billy Marshall, King of the Galloway Tinklers' (which commenced in the spring number, 1904, No. 21, vol. vi., and concluded in the winter number, 1905, No. 28, vol. vii.). The articles were afterwards incorporated in Mr. McCormick's volume on *The Tinkler-Gypsies of Galloway* (Maxwell, Dumfries, 1906), a second edition of which, revised and enlarged, was issued in 1907 under the title of *The Tinkler-Gypsies*.

The *Manchester City News*, March 5, 1904, reported the death, at South Shore, Blackpool, of Gypsy Sarah, otherwise Siari Boswell, aged ninety-eight. A native of Kent, but had lived seventy-seven years on Blackpool sandhills. She left four children and eighteen grandchildren (see *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, 1875, pp. 253-4).

The *New York Tribune*, April 24, 1904 (Illustrated Supplement), described the Hungarian Gypsy scissors-grinders seen in New York.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for April (p. 537), contained an article headed 'The Wandering Population of the Western Highlands,' by L. M. M., describing how 'years ago' two boys visited a tinker's tent every night and were then escorted by him, without reward, more than a mile 'past some badly haunted spots to where they could see the friendly home lights.' A tinker suffering from pleurisy passed the weeks of a big snowstorm in a tent by the roadside, with the flaps lightly pegged down, and his head close to the tent edge and his feet almost burnt by a fire, the smoke of which was blinding. He recovered.

Le Monde Moderne, Août 1904, pp. 81-91, contained an article on 'Les Romani-chels,' with ten illustrations.

The *Daily Graphic*, on September 15, had a short account of a police-raid on fortune-telling Gypsies at Blackpool: one named Sarah was said to have made a fortune, and another, Jennie, claimed royal patronage.

The *Daily Telegraph*, on September 20, reported that at Leicester Hettie Smith, alias Emily Clayton, a Gypsy, stole £2, 7s. 6d. by means of fortune-telling. She laid half-a-crown in a handkerchief and directed her dupe to cover it with another, then with a crown, then twice with half-sovereigns, and lastly with a sovereign. After this the Gypsy left promising to return.

The *Daily Graphic*, October 13, gave three views of Gypsies and their dwellings on the Black Patch, Handsworth, near Birmingham, whence an attempt to evict them had been unsuccessfully made. The settlement was founded by 'King' Esau Smith, horsedealer, who dressed in knee-breeches, velvet coat with big pearl buttons, and double-breasted waistcoat. He died 'about three years ago.' His widow Henty, aged ninety-six, survived. Some twenty-three families lived on the Patch, of whom fifty-nine were born there. The veteran had thirty grandchildren, all tent-dwellers. Henty objected to the children being taught 'elementary physiology with patterns of internal arrangements.' During a previous attempt to evict, the women threw their children in front of the horses and wagons, and dared the would-be evicters to trample on them. They resisted this attack, which was made by fifty navvies and six policemen, and seized their picks and shovels. Russian, Armenian, Polish, and other wandering Gypsies who tried to stop there were likewise driven off. Once fifteen Servians with six or seven bears had a pitched battle with the Black Patch colony. In July 1889 a

flood drove the Gypsies away temporarily. A sympathising manufacturer gave the settlers timber, with which they built a chapel; but the camp was gradually diminishing, because so many of the women married local artisans and labourers.

The *Manchester Guardian*, December 3, 1904, reported that sixty Gypsies, forming eight or nine families, from South Russia, were at the Leylands, Leeds, crowded into two small houses. They had been shipped back to England from the United States of America, where they had not been permitted to land.

1905

The *Queen*, January 14, 1905, called the same band Macedonian Gypsies, and stated that they had been moved on by the police from place to place, and that about 1896 a band from Corfu landed at Millwall *en route* to America, but were refused a passage at Liverpool, were disowned by their own government, and wandered all over this country.

The spring number of *The Gallovidian* magazine (No. 26, vol. vii., Maxwell, Dumfries) contained, on pages 116-126, an article by Mr. A. McCormick on 'George Borrow and the Memorandum of his Tour through Galloway,' in July 1866, with the Murray portrait of Borrow and four illustrations. (See also Knapp's *Life of Borrow*, vol. ii. p. 219 *et seq.*)

The *Maidenhead Advertiser*, June 29, 1905, reported proceedings against Thomas Lee and Henry Langridge, Gypsies, for camping on the highway near Cookham railway bridge, with five vans, two pony-carts, and a tent, also six horses and a donkey. Other Gypsies had encamped for several months in a meadow by Blackamore Lane.

The *Penny Illustrated Paper*, on August 5, gave a fanciful view of the successful eviction of the Gypsies from the Black Patch by the High Sheriff, Chief-Constable of Staffordshire, and a hundred policemen. Loveridge, the chief Gypsy, threw tar over them.

The *Dumfries Courier*, on December 6, reported the death of John Rutherford, aged sixty-eight, brother of the King of the Yetholm Gypsies, and second son of Queen Esther, who married a mason named Rutherford, and who with her sister Ellen were grandchildren of the celebrated Willie Faa, 'Gleed-Neckit Will,' King of the Gypsies, who married three times and had twenty-four children, and claimed descent from the Lord and Earl of Little Egypt who eloped with the Countess of Cassillis.

The *Berwickshire News*, of December 5, gives a fuller account. John died suddenly 'at his residence in Walkergate.' He was born near Yetholm, and had been a smuggler, mugger, and basket-seller; he married first a Renwick, and secondly an Allan. John's brother was King Charles Faa Blythe, who died at Yetholm in the spring of 1902.

1906

The *Cambrian News*, on February 2, reported an inquest at Llan-cynfelin on Grace Mannion (aged eighty, widow of Lany Mannion, tinman), found dead in a roadside ditch.

The *Daily News*, February 6, recorded the death at Louth, Lincolnshire, of Harriet Williams, a 'true-blooded Romany' hawker, reputed to be 110 years old.

The *Dumfries Courier*, on March 21, told a tale about one of Billy Marshall's clan, who, while drunk at New Galloway, wandered into a joiner's shop and fell asleep on the shavings, where the joiner found him and lifted him gently into a newly-made coffin, and then dressed himself up in white aprons as a ghost. When the tinker awoke he called out, 'Where am I?' The joiner gruffly replied, 'In eternity, dead ten years.' 'And how long have you been there?' asked the tinker. 'Twenty,' was the reply. Thereupon the undaunted tinker rejoined, 'Then ye'll ken the place better than I dae; d'ye ken whar a body could get a dram, for I'm unco dry?'

The *Dumfries Standard*, March 1906, reported a lecture on Gypsies by Mr. A. McCormick, author of *The Tinkler-Gypsies*.

The *Lady* newspaper, on April 6, appealed for the protection of the Gypsies, asking if the Gorgios never lie and steal and swindle, and pointing to Spain, where it is 'good form' among the 'smart set' to be friendly with Gypsies.

On April 24 some tinkers, two women, a man and boy, arrived at Troon, and the tinker and his wife were fined for fighting at the North Shore.

About April 26 the *Glasgow News* stated that the Muggers of the Scottish Border will not attend places of worship, but are so anxious to have their children baptized that they cross the Tweed to have the ceremony performed at Norham, and thus avoid the rule of the Scottish Church that no parent who is not a member can present a child for baptism.

The *Scottish Review*, on April 26, contained an article by Mr.

David MacRitchie, on 'A Gypsy Band in 1604,' headed by a copy of Callot's etching of a Gypsy band on its march. This article was prompted by 'the present irruption of German Gypsies into Scotland.'

The *Glasgow Herald*, on May 4, contained an article by James M'Whir, on 'The Muggers of the Border,' in the counties of Roxburgh and Berwick, with an Oriental cast of features proclaiming them to be Gypsies. It refers to Scottish records of 1505, 1540, 1579, 1609; the Faa-Cassillis elopement, and the Yetholm settlement, and others at Earlston, Gordon, Chirnside, Swinton, and Wooler. The Muggers attend the fairs at Kelso and St. Boswells, and use snatches of old Romany. At Kirk Yetholm Mr. M'Whir met only one elderly man, Mattha Douglas, who knew any Romany. Recently the younger members had gone to towns and married Gentiles, and adopted their manners and customs.

The *Daily Mail*, November 10, 1906, reviewed the *Life of C. G. Leland*, by Elizabeth R. Pennell (Constable, 2 vols., 21s. net).

The *Evening News*, November 23, 1906, contained 'Is the Gypsy doomed? a plea for the Romany Race,' by Walter M. Gallichan. 'Two winters ago I came upon old Mother Boswell and her handsome daughter in a by-lane in the Peak of Derbyshire, in an old tan. It was a frosty day, and lying on the younger woman's lap was a naked infant, a few weeks old, who made no protest when washed in cold spring-water.

'By the Dee I have fished with Madoc Roberts, one of the best Welsh harpers, who composes music for the harp, and played before Queen Victoria. Then there is Lovell of Llangollen, a real swarthy Kaulo, a capital fisherman, who has lived in a house all his life. It is many years since I met handsome Nelson Cooper, who ran with the Royal buckhounds in winter, and a splendid boxer, who fought and defeated three roughs on Maidenhead Thicket.'

The *Evening News*, in November 1906, noted two new streets at Norwood called Borrow Road and Lavengro Road. At Norwood is Gypsy Hill, called after the Gypsies of a hundred years ago.

The *World* (New York), in September 1906, reported a band of twenty-three Servian Gypsies, in four families, who were trying to cross the French frontier into Germany, having been expelled from Central France.

The *Journal of American Folklore*, July-September 1906 (pp. 212-14), contained 'Notes on the Gypsies,' by A. T. Sinclair,

of Allston, Massachusetts, in which he mentioned articles by Père Anastase, on the Nāwār of Mesopotamia, in *Al Machriq*, the Arabic journal of St. Joseph's University, Beirut, October and November 1902. Mr. Sinclair learned Romanes about twenty-five years ago in America, and had studied Gypsies in nearly every country in Europe, and for many years had devoted himself specially to Oriental Gypsies. The article combated the false notion that Gypsies steal *gájo* children, and referred to the *New York Herald*, April 27, 1901, for a long account of the alleged stealing of Willie McCorinick. It also dealt with honesty and chastity.

The *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, on October 6, had an article by R. H. Sherard in praise of Vagabondage, as due to an uncontrollable impulse, which had its uses, as shown by the French saying, 'Journeys form young people.'

The *Glasgow News*, on November 14, told how two Gypsy women (mother and daughter) at Wishaw duped a shopgirl into parting with some children's clothing and other things worth £8 or £9, giving her as security a lady's gold ring and chain, which proved to be worth about two shillings. Apparently they hypnotised the girl, or the girl invented the story, for she could not recognise her visitors when taken to their camp by the police.

Good Words magazine, on December 29, contained a view of 'The Gipsy's Christmas Dinner,' showing a *wardo* and *tan* in a snow-covered field, and the Romany owner with three children and his wife watching a caldron steaming over a fire.

In 1906 the newspapers were constantly reporting the progress of a large band of foreign Gypsies through Scotland and England.

This invasion had many features in common with that which occurred centuries ago in Western Europe, and which was so carefully elucidated by Monsieur Bataillard.

The *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, April 10, 1906, reported that the German Gypsies who were trekking from Leith to Glasgow had arrived at Falkirk, where they divided, some going to Kilsyth and others to Stirling; and next day the same newspaper said they had reached St. Ninians, Stirling, where the police turned them towards Bannockburn; and on April 12 the same newspaper said eighty German Gypsies were in Perthshire, where a party from Fife and Clackmannan joined a section that went through Linlithgow, and camped on Bannockburn Green, with seven caravans, and children all lolling about in a long, low-wheeled basket lorry. The northern contingent had gone through

Kirkcaldy, Aberdour, and Dalgety. Some were at the fork in the roads from Dunfermline to Rosyth and Limekilns, and went to Torryburn. Some were Russians.

According to the (Dundee) *Evening Telegraph and Post*, April 14, the leader of the Perthshire band was 'a ponderous-looking German, sporting an enormous green-coloured vest, Carl Sattler by name, hailing from Wurtemberg, while others came from Stettin.' A gentleman who visited their camp, about midway between Bridge of Allan and Dunblane, at four o'clock in the morning, found 'three women and three infants of about three months' old lying out in the open, exposed to the cold night air; and an hour or two later he observed the children, stripped naked, getting bathed with tepid water.' — 'Despite the privations to which they are subjected, they seem to be healthy and thriving.'

The *People's Journal* of April 21 gave a highly coloured account of the Gypsies at Dunblane, with four illustrations. According to this newspaper 'the majority of the gipsies are Romany, while the remainder are a heterogeneous lot, possibly French and Danish, with a German Jew thrown in. About 18 months ago they migrated in a body from Italy to Germany, and since then they have wandered through the Fatherland.'

On April 21, the Fife authorities had forced the nomads across the Firth in two parties, which reunited, and with five caravans camped at Davidson's Mains on the side of Ferry Road. Thence they went by Dean Bridge to Edinburgh, on their way, as they said, to Liberton, Gorebridge, and Southampton; but at Edinburgh they doubled to Corstorphine, and camped near North Gyle. Here eight were arrested.

On April 23, the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* gave three illustrations of their camp, and 'types of women' belonging to the gang. They were persistent and troublesome beggars, and took things, and paid whatever they thought fit for them.

From Corstorphine they went to Broxburn, where an inquirer was told that 'they were all Prussians from Stettin, Kolberg, and other parts of Pomerania,' and that their leader was named Franz Muller, who was a native of Stettin. They went forward to Bathgate. They intimated that they intended to go *via* Berwick to Dover. There were eighty-two, including infants. They had 'six caravans, smaller than those used in England, and not as clean as a Boswell, Blythe, or Stanley would keep them.' They had also a basket vehicle drawn by the men.

The eight Gypsies who were arrested were Hugo Franz, aged forty-five; Rebstock Dungke (46); Gottshalt Borado (35); Heinrich Rosenberg (27); Paul Muller (24); Heinrich Sattler (57); Christlieb Laubinger (40), and Kula Rebstock (46). In place of the eighth, one newspaper names Rents Fredrich (19).

On April 25, the (Glasgow) *Daily Record* reported the proceedings against those arrested. They were charged with contravening the Trespass (Scotland) Act, 1865, which prohibited camping without leave of occupant or owner. They said they were horse-dealers and acrobats. They were discharged with a caution.

On reaching Glasgow, *via* Airdrie, Coatbridge, Langloan, and Baillieston, they were escorted by police to the Vinegar Hill Gypsy colony, at the east end of the Gallowgate, and there it was said that they adopted Caledonian-sounding names and were learning English. They numbered about twenty.

The *Glasgow News* of April 24 gave some sketches of 'the Queen,' a 'family altar,' and a van, etc. 'The male members represented several types, mostly Teutonic; the younger females were decidedly attractive.' They demanded 'sheel-ings, go-old,' and took coppers reluctantly. The crowd incommoded them, until a tall stout man, evidently King, ordered the men to turn the horses loose amongst the crowd. The Romanies then rearranged their vans in a square. The elderly men were idle and dirty. The younger women were mostly attired in quaint and picturesque garb. To be photographed they asked 'five sheelins.' The elderly females smoked long black wooden pipes. The King tried to sell two of the horses, but failed, and they sold the worst van for four pounds odd. A weeping elderly woman with an infant, and three lads all crying, seemed to regard it as their home, and removed bedding from it. According to one account, it was sold to pay any fines inflicted on the eight who had been arrested near Edinburgh. They told Dr. Schlomka, of the Glasgow High School, they wished to return home, and were trying to raise funds. One of the leaders was 'Fried Rensch of Almsdorf, Pa Sachsen,' and he denied excitedly that they had sold a child to the Glasgow 'show-folk.' One elderly woman offered to 'tell thee fortune,' and for a fee foretold 'Right good luck—how long do thee live?—Oh! eighty-five years—you will have children—good luck, amen,' and then kissed her hand and bowed in conclusion. An old stout woman,

supposed to be Queen, sat crying at her van door, packing clothes and ornaments, including a framed photograph, in a wooden trunk, so that the van might be sold. Other younger members were also crying. [Probably these were relatives of those who had been arrested.] The altar was a box containing two wooden figures about a foot and a half long. One van had some delf, which a woman offered to two hawkers, but she asked too much.

On April 25, the *Glasgow News* reported that the wanderers had been removed to an enclosure at Whitevale Theatre, Glasgow, for greater privacy. One named Lena was to be married. She wore a dress of quaint design of poor white material; was olive-coloured, with raven black curls; was eighteen, and a good needlewoman. The bridegroom wore Scotch tweed and a bowler hat; was named Paul Muller, aged twenty-four. [had been arrested at Corstorphine]; was formerly a butcher at Stettin; was unfit for military service. Pastor Geyer of the German Church in Woodlands Road was to marry the couple if legal formalities were completed. Six of the men arrested had been discharged at Edinburgh, and, including Paul Muller, had arrived by train. They had told the authorities they wanted to cross to France.

One of the wanderers was a mother of triplets six weeks old, and the Pastor baptized them and two other infants which were alleged to have been born since the party reached Scotland. A very large woman held up a child and called out 'Nine children! nine children! some monish!' They exchanged twenty-five shillings in coppers for silver.

On April 25, another party of nineteen came from Hamburg by the *Coblentz* to Leith, and went by train to Edinburgh, displaying 'a profusion of five-mark pieces,' and returned to Leith. Ultimately they went by train to Edinburgh and Dalkeith, and thence to Eskbank. The women wore fantastic dresses. London was said to be their objective, and in support of this they showed a paper inscribed 'Musselburgh, Peebles, London.' While the women carrying children sat on the kerb, the men inquired for a baker, and for a horse and cart which they wished to buy. These preceded the seven who came by the *Scalpa*.

On April 25, the *Scotsman* reported the arrival at Leith (from Hamburg by the *Scalpa*) of two men, a woman, and four children, German Gypsies who had evaded the Aliens Act. They joined nineteen others who had come from Hamburg a few days earlier, and who were in the New Ship Inn lodging-house at the Shore.

Their caravans were coming from Hamburg by the *Weimar*, along with a further band of twenty, and sixty more were alleged to be near Hamburg waiting to cross. They were well supplied with British coins, and readily paid for their lodgings. They intended to go to London, and seemed well acquainted with their forerunners' movements. They went to Dalkeith. One said he had to return to Hamburg on business [which was probably to report progress and to organise the further invasions].

The party that came on April 25 by the *Weimar* consisted of two families—one, husband, wife, and eleven children; the other, husband, wife, and five children. They had one caravan and went to Grangemouth. They left Germany because the authorities said they must settle and pay taxes. The officers of the *Weimar* said they were told that from one thousand to over five thousand would shortly come over, owing to repressive measures in Germany. Two batches of fifteen each were to arrive at Leith and Grangemouth on April 26.

The Dalkeith party went by Eskbank Road to Gallowshall and asked the way to London, and one showed a passport giving its owner's name as 'Kas'koior.' They wished to avoid the Glasgow contingent. They proceeded along the Dalhousie Road and, keeping along the Galashiels main road, reached Arniston collieries, where they wished to encamp, but were ordered on by the police, and kept asking the way to England and London.

At Vinegar Hill, Glasgow, the Gypsies charged 2d. for admission, and extra to see dancing and acrobatic feats in the Carnival Theatre. The women wore white muslin dresses with bright-coloured ribbons. The men dressed variously; some in red or blue cloth trousers and jackets, others in ordinary suits with red or blue sashes. One man wore white trousers and a large green waistcoat, with his shirt-sleeves turned up to the shoulder; another had a khaki helmet and white linen clothes, and flourished a sword and a gun like an Arab fanatic.

Muller, the bridegroom, had a red ribbon round his hat, and a blue-and-yellow sort of blanket round his body. The wedding was, however, delayed till the parties had been three weeks in the country, to conform to the laws. Another account says it was celebrated in Romany fashion, and the Gypsies drank a cask of beer, which they mixed with lemonade.

The (Glasgow) *Daily Record*, on April 25, had a photograph of two Gypsy women and four children; one of the women had

nine children. On April 26 the same paper had a view of the Gypsy Queen at Vinegar Hill (who was proud of her 49-inch waist) with her six children.

The (Glasgow) *Daily Record*, on April 26, gave another photographic group of a Gypsy mother and five children.

A further party of nineteen arrived at Leith in the *Breslau*, and intended to go to Grangemouth along with the other recent arrivals, but were forced back to Leith; and then tried to proceed by Portobello, but were again driven back on Leith.

At Vinegar Hill the men were helping to sweep out the theatre and making themselves useful. They sold two horses and took one in exchange. The *Glasgow News* had sketches of the Queen, the bride and bridegroom, begging, and 'types.' The colony was hourly expecting about seventy newcomers.

At this time a party of eleven reached West Hartlepool in the steamer *Malta*, and encamped outside the town. The steamer *Merrick* brought twenty-six more, including several children who had been smuggled on board at the last moment with intent to evade the Aliens Act, but these were not allowed to land because they exceeded the statutory limit of twenty in number. It was said that forty more had left Hamburg for Goole.

On April 30, the *Glasgow News* reported that a boy belonging to the German Gypsies, on their way from Edinburgh, had fallen from the train near Bonnybridge, and had to have his leg amputated at Edinburgh, whither some of the women returned with him, while the men went on to Glasgow.

On April 30, the (Glasgow) *Daily Record* reported that at Glasgow five of the Gypsy newly-born infants had been baptized by Pastor Geyer, in the presence of about forty of the tribe, who all sat, except the King, who stood, and in a guttural voice repeated now and again a striking sentence of the German address given by the Pastor. A sweep had offered a sovereign for one of the children, wishing to adopt it, but the idea was scornfully rejected. A party left Leith, with a van and one horse, and passed over Linlithgow bridge into Stirlingshire on their way to Glasgow.

Another newspaper contained a letter, dated May 2, from Glasgow, stating that the older members at Vinegar Hill spoke Hungarian, but the younger members only spoke German.

On June 23, the *Dumfries Courier* reported the arrival at Dumfries from Thornhill, of a detached party, mainly children,

with three vehicles, which camped near the suspension bridge. One lot of twenty had been for a time at Cumnock, but the main body, numbering about forty, went through Ayr to Kilmarnock. Some of the Gypsy children at Dumfries could sing 'My Irish Molly,' and if not given pennies put their fingers to their noses! They were 'persistent and impudent beggars.'

The party of twenty had a fairly large van, a small pony wagon with canvas hood, and a small lorry. 'All were in appearance filthy in the extreme.' The women went to the shops and helped themselves to whatever they liked, exclaiming, 'Hungry—no monish.' For sleeping purposes some went inside the larger van, others lay underneath it, 'each having a couple of padded sacks like a double bed, and crawling in between them.' For washing purposes the men and women held out their hollowed palms, into which another poured a little water, which they then rubbed over their faces. Others took a mouthful and squirted it into their hands, and gave their faces a rub. The police escorted them to Annan.

The second contingent, numbering forty-one—thirty being men and women—arrived at Dumfries later with three vans and better clothing, and were also masterful beggars. They tried horse-dealing. Within an hour they removed towards Annan and encamped, under police watch, at Drummuir, near Racks, and left at five next morning for Cummertrees, saying they wanted to go to West Hartlepool to get ships back to Germany. At Annan the shopkeepers locked up their shops. The children pestered people for 'monish,' and danced for coppers. They were made to proceed towards Carlisle at noon, and at Gretna Green the English police met them. 'On the whole the wanderers were well-behaved, and seemed to have a fair amount of money.'

On July 2, the *Glasgow News* reported that about thirty, with three wagons and wretched horses, reached Perth from Newburgh, and were beaten off by a huge jeering and excited crowd, and went away towards Scone amidst showers of stones at the wagons and their occupants. The Gypsies, men and women, seized sticks, and charged the crowd. At Scone a large stone struck a Gypsy woman, who had to be attended to by a doctor. A Gypsy drew a big gully (knife) and threatened to stab any one who came near him. The United Free Church minister at Scone, the Rev. J. W. Slater, interfered, and induced most of the crowd to return to Perth, but some hundreds followed the Gypsies to Balbeggie.

An undated newspaper cutting recorded that about sixty-five German Gypsies, with ten horses and four vans, coming from Perth, reached Aberdeen and camped on Scotstown Moor, four miles outside the city. An infant had scarlet fever. Another undated cutting reports that a section camped near Alloa, and intended to go into Fifeshire.

In the middle of July about a score of the Gypsies made their appearance at Crocketford from Maxwelltown, and the police led them to Castle-Douglas as they were understood to wish to go to Ireland *via* Stranraer. They had three vans, and, while all of them had an extremely uncouth look, 'most of them appear to be decidedly superior to the vagrant class of this country.' The children were fairly well clad. They would not pay for things they took in the shops, and had to be forcibly ejected. They desired cash rather than food. They were moved by the police to Bridge of Dee and on to Gatehouse.

The *Galloway Gazette*, August 4, 1906, contained a long article on these German Gypsies in Galloway, by Mr. A. M'Cormick (see his *Tinkler-Gypsies*, 2nd edition, pp. 457-83, with several photographs). They were not allowed to embark at Greenock or Ardrossan, and were going to Stranraer to embark there if possible. They passed through Dumfries.

On August 8, the *Glasgow News* stated that the German Gypsies had camped at Thornton, midway between Fleetwood and Blackpool in Lancashire, in a field which they had rented, but a number of police with two hundred workmen from the Alkali Works pulled down the canvas screens and dragged the vans into the road amidst the yells and threats of the Gypsies. One man ran about crying 'Shoot, shoot.' The police and men then drove the gang out of the field in spite of the Gypsies arming themselves with fence-rails and whips. The women lay down and had to be carried into the road. The police pacified the king by refunding the amount paid as rent for the field. They had only one horse for the vans, and went to Garstang and were supposed to be going to Lancaster, but 'turned up again at Preston,' where they were hustled across the Ribble Bridge into Penwortham, where they camped for the night.

[Mr. Sampson's article on the Germans at Blackpool, *ante*, pages 111-21, deals with this part of the story.]

An undated newspaper cutting recorded that at Warrington, in South Lancashire, the German Gypsies threatened the police with

knives, scythes, and revolvers, but were outnumbered and forced to proceed towards Manchester.

At the beginning of October, the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* reported that a main body of 'about one hundred' German Gypsies recently passed through Morpeth on their way to London, and had with them 'a newly born baby wrapped up in dirty rags, and almost starving.' On September 19, a lesser band came to Morpeth from the north, with vans and horses. The last van was drawn by a wretched brown mare, in charge of three men, who gave their names as Cool (masc.) Rhyl, Cooli (fem.) Bull, and Wangthi (fem.) Poorahdal, [worthy subjects of King 'Rhyl Kerry' !]. They said they bought the mare in Dundee, and could sell her at Newcastle Quay for £2; thus indicating where they had been and intended to go. In the van was a baby, a few days old, wrapped up in rags. This band went on to Kirkby Stephen, where they took out their knives and threatened to cut the throats of the police. It was stated that there was a band about two hundred miles south of Morpeth. The three nicely named men did not appear to a summons, and were each sentenced to a month with hard labour for cruelty to the mare.

On October 17, the *Daily Mail* reported that the German Gypsies had passed Manchester and crossed the Mersey into Cheshire, and had camped at Cheadle. The tradesmen complained of their thievery. The chief said they were going to London. They went southward through Handforth and Wilmslow in Cheshire, and camped again near Congleton. They purchased a horse. They said they were Bulgarians and not Germans.

On October 18, the *Daily Mail* reported another party which camped at Bollington near Macclesfield, having followed 'the same route as the main body.' During the night five of the six vans disappeared.

The sixth van was occupied by a man, wife, and six children, and 'did not seem to be quite such a disreputable lot.' The man said the others were English Gypsies, who had tried to steal his horses. He went through Bollington and Macclesfield, towards Congleton.

The main body made a circuitous route through Stockport to Congleton, where the men mounted their horses and made off for the horse and cattle fair at Leek, but were turned back.

On October 28, the *Daily Mail* contained a photograph of two Gypsy women and two children in front of their peaked tent,

behind which were tilt-covered wagons. The photograph was taken near Birmingham, where the band stayed two nights 'to buy new horses,' and left for London as their destination.

On November 3, as reported in *Lloyd's Weekly News*, Sunday, November 4, 'his saggy Majesty,' Joseph Steinbach, his wife, and eleven children embarked at Newcastle Quay in the *Sir William Stephenson* for the Fatherland. He took with him the 'Royal caravan,' and a pony said to be 22 years old. As they walked up the gangway it was observed that the children were well nourished. This tribe had been moved on from pitch to pitch in Northumberland and Durham for some weeks. A portion of the band was left behind by King Joseph, and they were encamped on Tyne Green, Hexham, until after the 5th November, when some of the local youths nearly fired their camp with fireworks. The band ultimately departed for Scotland, promising to return next year.

The *Hexham Courant*, on November 10, contained a leader on the German Gypsies, deprecating undue harshness. Hexham had set a good example in this respect, and their authorities had let the dictates of humanity override those of expediency, etc. etc.

The *Daily Mail* of November 14, 1906, gave a longer account of these Gypsies at Stamford; their king was alleged to be 'Rhyll Kearry' (!). They had ten vans and carts. They re-shod their horses with nails taken from fences. A girl fortune-teller was called Marinan Kay. They were escorted by the police to Wothorpe.

The *Daily Dispatch*, November 14, 1906, noted the arrival of these German Gypsies in Northamptonshire, and gave a photograph of one named Yoka.

On November 15, the *Daily Mail* had a photograph of the king and his wife, standing between two vans, taken at Wothorpe, near Stamford. The king was said to be ninety-four years of age, and 'had considerable power and determination.'

In November the *Daily Mail* contained an account, from Grantham in Lincolnshire, stating that King Rhyll Kerry (!) had told the police that 'they were going to Hull, but would not go to Germany, but would go round and round in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Lancashire, and would come back to Lincolnshire, as England suited them.' The king said they would not go for at least a year. 'Germans, they no give money to Gypsies. English people very kind, but the police cruel.' He then tried to sell a horse for £7, but could not get a higher offer than £2, and did not

sell. The band numbered seventy-five. They camped at Colsterworth, eight miles from Grantham. Their horses were a fairly healthy lot. They passed through Grantham, where 'Marinankay, a pretty fortune-teller, did splendid business.' A Gypsy woman with a baby struck a policeman, and picked up stones to throw, 'but the king bundled her along.' The children were wretchedly clad, but healthy and well nourished. The police conveyed the party through Great Gonerby to Foston, where they camped, and 'Captain' Brankin of the Salvation Army provided the Gypsy children with 24 loaves, 40 cakes, and a huge pail of coffee.

On November 17, the *Daily Mail* reported from Newark that the Secretary (W. J. Cable) of the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress had, with the Home Secretary's sanction, offered to pay for the band's passage back to Germany, but King Rhyll Kerry refused, as they were doing well here. Marinankay said, 'We never leave.' 'For some days past the Gypsies have travelled above twenty miles a day under police compulsion.' The oldest was ninety-four years, and the youngest five days old. They went from Foston through Barderton to Newark, and the police hoped next day to move them on to Retford.

On November 17, the *Penny Illustrated Paper* had a fancy picture of 'Pillage and Plunder: German Gypsies harassing the Countryside,' stating that the band camped in the cattle-pen of Leicester Market, and left for Rugby, but at the county boundary twenty or thirty Warwickshire police blocked the road, and forced them up Watling Street, and eventually moved the vans into Northamptonshire. At one place the women rushed at the police with sticks, but were disarmed.

About November 24, fifty-one German Gypsies who 'for six weeks had wandered over the north of England' reached Dumfries, and said the Scotch were more generous than the English. They intended to go to Stranraer, and to cross over to Ireland. The Secretary of the Distressed Foreigners' Aid Society, after consulting the Home Secretary, was coming to Dumfries to negotiate for their return to Germany, but they did not wish to return. The *Dumfries Courier*, on November 28, reported that Mr. Cable, the Secretary, saw them at Springholm, and persuaded them to return, so they went from Castle-Douglas and camped on Formannoch Farm, four miles from Dumfries, to await removal to Grimsby by rail. The party and their horses were well fed. 'The Gypsies were boisterously gay, and sang and danced far into the night.'

They treated Mr. Cable most respectfully. They left for Grimsby in a special train of four trucks, a first-class carriage for Mr. Cable and assistants, a third-class carriage for the fifty Romanies, six horse-boxes and a guard's van, the wheels of the chief's van being removed to allow the truck and its load to pass under the railway bridges. At Grimsby the party was to be joined by the Yorkshire contingent, and all were to proceed by special steamer, the *Lincoln*, for Hamburg.

On November 27, the Gypsies arrived at Grimsby by special train from Dumfries, and embarked on the steamship *Lincoln* for Hamburg *en route* to Stettin. The *Daily Mirror* gave the number of Gypsies as 125, and reproduced a photograph of the last camp under the title, 'At the end of the hunt.'

'A MODERN book on Liberty has maintained that from the freedom of individual men to persist in idiosyncrasies the world may be enriched. Why should we not apply this argument to the idiosyncrasy of a nation, and pause in our haste to hoot it down?'—GEORGE ELIOT, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, chapter xviii, 'The modern Hep! Hep! Hep!'

REVIEW

A Sketch of the Grammatical Structure of the Nuri Language.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.—*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, January 1908, pp. 64-70.

IN the year 1846 Pott published in Hoefer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, vol. i. p. 175, an article on the language of the Gypsies in Syria, founded on materials collected by the American Missionary, Eli Smith, from Syrian Gypsies in the neighbourhood of Beirut. He then remarked that to determine the relationship between the Gypsies of Western Asia and their kin in Europe and India, especially with regard to their idioms, was a most enigmatical problem and much in need of further elucidation. The matter is to-day almost as obscure as it was in 1846. Even now we know very little about the languages of Asiatic Gypsies, and that little is partly presented in a form which makes its scientific use very difficult.

Above all things a copious collection of material for the study of the Gypsies of India is needed. Volume xi. of the *Linguistic Survey of India* will treat of the 'Gypsy' languages of that country. Grierson, however, has declared explicitly that 'the word "Gypsy," used in dealing with the Gypsy tribes of India, is employed in its purely conventional sense of "vagrant," and should not be taken as in any way suggesting their connection with the Romanichals of Europe' (*The Languages of India*, Calcutta, 1903, § 235). And thus it is doubtful whether this volume will add much that is new to our knowledge of Indian Gypsies. I have requested three old pupils of mine, fully qualified for linguistic investigations, who are now in India—Dr. Konow at Simla, Dr. Spooner at Peshawar, and Dr. Stursberg at Berhampore—to study the Indian Gypsies and forward me for elaboration the material they may find. It is to be hoped that they will succeed in obtaining better specimens than those collected from the Changars by Leitner.

In addition to what was known in 1846 about the languages of the Asiatic Gypsies, we now possess only Paspatis's brief notes in his *Études sur les Tchighianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Otto-*

man (Constantinople, 1870), pp. 115-25, and Professor Finck's important treatise, *Die Sprache der Armenischen Zigeuner* (St. Petersburg, 1907). There are also short communications on Syrian Gypsies by Newbold and Wetzstein, which De Goeje notices and discusses in his *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leide, 1903), pp. 6, 36, 61, and Miss Everest's Syriac-Gypsy vocabulary published by Groome in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Old Series, ii. 25.

It is therefore the greater pleasure to hear that there is a prospect of getting detailed and reliable information about the Gypsies of Syria. In the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, January 1908, p. 64, Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister announces that he possesses a considerable collection of words, phrases, and other material for the study of the Nuri language, of which he gives a preliminary sketch of the highest interest. Contrasted with Miss Everest's vocabulary, the judicious and careful transcription strikes one by its suitability, and brings the pronunciation clearly before one's eyes. Little errors, such as *tutpurusha* for *tatpurusha* (which occurs twice, pp. 66-7) are of no moment. We learn that the Nowar have dealt with their dialect in the same way as the European Gypsies have done with their dialects. Just as the Spanish Gypsies have given Spanish endings to the Indian words, and as the English Gypsies have copied their inflections from English patterns, etc.; so the Nowar have adopted the Semitic custom of adding possessive pronouns to their substantives, as already observed by Pott (*loc. cit.*, p. 178), and, following a Turkish principle, go through the inflections with the compound word thus manufactured. In this way *kuri*, 'house,' forms a substantive *kurim*, 'my house,' and the two are thus declined:—

Nom.	<i>Kuri</i>	Nom.	<i>Kurim</i>
Acc.	<i>Kuris</i>	Acc.	<i>Kurimis</i>
Gen.	<i>Kuriska</i>	Gen.	<i>Kurimiska</i>
Dat.	<i>Kurita</i>	Dat.	<i>Kurimta</i>

The possessive pronouns are attached in the same way to verbs. Just as from *par*, 'brother,' is formed *parum*, 'my brother'; so from *kerda*, 'made,' we get *kerdum*, 'I made,' and *kernatsum*, 'I shall make.' After these suffixes other suffixes can be added, which have the sense of accusatives. For example, 'I shall kill' is expressed by *marnatsum*, and 'thou shalt kill' by *marnatsumur*; while 'I will kill thee' is *marnatsumur* (i.e. *marnatsum* + *um* + *ur*,

or the stem of the future + the suffix of the first person + the suffix of the second person).

The numerals are also of great interest. It appears by comparing them with the lists given by Smith (in Pott's article), Newbold, and Miss Everest, not only that the Nuri language has like these dialects replaced the numbers 5-7 by Persian equivalents, but that it possesses no numerals of its own for 8 and 9. Eight is expressed by *štar-wa-štar* (that is, 4+4), and 9 by *štar-wa-štar-wa-yakāk* (4+4+1). I have dealt in detail with the subject of Gypsy numerals in my *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Deutschen Zigeuner* (Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1894), p. 44, and to this monograph I beg to refer Mr. Macalister.

According to Mr. Macalister's estimate (p. 65), the Nuri vocabulary is three-fifths Aryan and two-fifths loan-words; but the material published in this 'preliminary sketch' is not sufficient to indicate to which Aryan dialect the language is most nearly related.

The Nowar (sing. *Nuri*) of his paper are the so-called *Zutt*, not the Kurdish Nowar, of whose language Mr. Macalister has a short vocabulary collected by Herr Miklasiewics. I differ from De Goeje in still believing that the *Zutt* or *Zott* of Arab authors were not Gypsies, but Jats, and that from them the name was transferred to the Gypsies. In my opinion these *Zutt* do not add anything to our knowledge of the history of the Gypsies. So much the more important are Mr. Macalister's *Zutt* for the history of the Gypsy tongue. His collections deserve high praise, and it is much to be wished that he will soon make them generally accessible. I hope that they include tales and songs. Mere vocabularies, useful as they are, do not convey the character of a language, and more ancient word-forms are often retained in songs than in prose. For the additions which he makes to our knowledge, Mr. Macalister may count on the gratitude of all who are interested in the study of Gypsies.

R. PISCHEL.

NOTES AND QUERIES

38

THE REV. T. W. NORWOOD

THE Rev. Thomas Wilkinson Norwood, B.A., F.G.S., who died at Snaith, Yorkshire, on January 26 last, aged seventy-nine years, belonged to an older generation of Romani Rais, and collected English Gypsy in the days when it was still an inflected tongue. His interest in the race was aroused very early in life, for, when he was a small boy, the Gypsies stole his donkey, and he then and there resolved to study them and learn their language. He collected a large vocabulary orally from the people themselves, and compiled a Romani grammar, a task for which he was singularly well equipped by his knowledge of no less than seventeen languages. It is much to be regretted that none of his research work, either on this subject or on architecture, heraldry, archæology, botany, or bird-life, was ever published; and that the only accessible product of his philological labours is the very meagre report of a paper 'On the Race and Language of the Gipsies,' which he read to the British Association in 1858 and illustrated with extracts from his vocabulary and specimens of Gypsy conversation.¹ In a Romani letter which appeared in the *Chester Courant* on January 18, 1882, he contradicted the assertion, which had been made by J. P. Earwaker and T. Hughes, that Rumwell Durbare was a Cheshire Gypsy name in 1627, and referred to the fact that *O Romano Krallas* Aaron Lee was buried in the churchyard at Wrenbury, where Mr. Norwood was vicar for twenty-nine years. The letter was answered by Mr. H. T. Crofton, who gave a translation, and by 'Stanyamengro,' and the correspondence was reprinted in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. ii. (Chester, 1883). An obituary notice of Mr. Norwood, by R. B., was printed in the *Guardian* on February 12, 1908.

HELEN GROSVENOR.

39

THOMAS DARLINGTON, M.A., H.M.I.S.

A *Romani rai* of strong character and remarkable linguistic power passed away on February 4, 1908, at the age of forty-three. Thomas Darlington was brought up as a farmer's son in Cheshire, near the borders of Wales. He became at an early age an accomplished classical scholar, a master of the local English dialect and of Welsh, and a *lavengro* of no common skill, trusted and consulted by the *plant Abram Wood*. Proceeding to St John's College, Cambridge, he took a first class in the Classical Tripos, Part I., of 1884, and a second class in Part II., in 1886, having meantime gained the Members' Latin Essay Prize, and taken a scholarship and the degree of M.A. in the University of London. He published a very able volume on *The Folk-Speech of South Cheshire* (English Dialect Society, 1887, 8vo, 451 pp.), and for this as well as for his proved scholarship he was elected a Fellow of St John's in 1888. As Principal of Queen's College, Taunton, he did much to foster there the study of modern languages. He was fluent in most European tongues, including Norse and Russian, and travelled widely on the Continent in pursuit of knowledge. On one occasion he sought and obtained an interview with the redoubtable Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostseff,

¹ Report of the Twenty-eighth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Leeds in September 1858. London, Murray, 1859, p. 195.

in St Petersburg, and criticised Russian methods of government in a manner to which that dignity was unaccustomed.

Darlington contributed to the St John's College Magazine (*The Eagle*, December 1885) a Romani ballad '*O naslo rom*,' above the signature (as he wrote it) of 'Bivvan Kosh.' Perhaps he intended to hint that he was no 'dry stick,' like some of the dons who wrote for its pages. He sent articles in Welsh, good in style and in matter, to the *Geninen* and other journals; and he often preached and addressed public meetings in the language. His educational experience, and his familiarity with Wales and the Welsh, procured him an appointment as His Majesty's Inspector of Schools, which he held until the end.

DONALD MACALISTER.

40

PROCRUSTES, M.P.

The bill which 'may be cited as the Children's Act, 1908,' and will, if passed, come into operation on January 1, 1909, is presumably intended to promote the welfare and happiness of children. It was read for the second time on April 1, and Clause 107 deals with the children of nomads as follows:—

'Penalty on vagrants preventing children receiving education.'

'(1) If a person habitually wanders from place to place and takes with him any child above the age of five, he shall, unless he can prove that the child is totally exempted from school attendance, or that the child is not by being so taken with him prevented from receiving efficient elementary education, be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding with costs twenty shillings, and shall for the purposes of the provisions of this Act relating to the descriptions of children who may be sent to a certified industrial school, be deemed to be unfit to have care of the child:

'Provided that this provision shall not apply to a child in a canal boat for whose education provision is made under the Canal Boats Act, 1877, as amended by any subsequent enactment.

'(2) Any constable who finds a person wandering from place to place and taking a child with him may, if he has reasonable ground for believing that the person is guilty of an offence under this section, apprehend him without a warrant, and may take the child to a place of safety in accordance with the provisions of Part II. of this Act, and that Part shall apply accordingly as if an offence under this section were an offence under that Part.'

It will be noticed that this Act makes special provision for the boat-people, but none for road nomads; thus granting to one class what it denies to another, although included in that other are the Gypsies, whose instinct for wandering dates from centuries before canals were thought of. The unfortunate Gypsies are offered the alternative between sedentary life and the rape of their children as soon as they reach the age of five. It may be that Mr. Herbert Samuel and Mr. Secretary Gladstone, who introduced the bill, in their ignorance of Gypsy history, customs, and manner of thought, believe that all will go smoothly, and that the Romané will be compelled to dwell in houses as easily as dogs are compelled to live in kennels. But how can the barbarous alternative be explained or excused—the cruel threat to wrest apart parents and children whose only crime is that they are leading the healthy life their forebears lived for ages?

This ancient remedy has been tried repeatedly, and has as frequently failed: but, even if it offered a prospect of success, the proposal to sacrifice ruthlessly the most tender and affectionate family relationships to the fetish of education, would be alien to all instincts of humanity. And it must be remembered that the education offered in return for this sacrifice is education in its very meanest sense, the

education of the Industrial School, where the Gypsy children would be brought into contact with the worst by-products of the civilisation to which it is desired to win them.

If Gypsy children *must* be educated, it should be unnecessary to adopt the methods of the robber Procrustes. Reformers must seek, not to adapt the Gypsies to an imperfect educational system which happens to exist, but to remould that system to fit the manner of life of the Gypsies.

41

NEW LIGHT ON GYPSY GRAMMAR

It is impossible not to congratulate M. J. A. Decourdemanche on the results of his gleaning in a field hitherto assumed to have been reaped pretty thoroughly by certain competent philologists. There have always been little difficulties connected with the genders of Romani nouns, and it is perhaps the least amazing of M. Decourdemanche's discoveries that five varieties exist, and not merely the masculine and feminine which his predecessors recorded. It is, however, disconcerting to learn that even the great Pott entirely misunderstood Gypsy grammar, and failed to detect the five principles, hitherto unknown, on which it is founded. More remarkable still is the news that the Romané, often described by superficial observers as somewhat illiterate, possess and employ no less than three separate alphabets—*lavorengera krupta*, *purengera krupta*, and *romengera krupta*—a fact which has escaped the notice even of those students who have the reputation of being intimately acquainted with the race.

Scholars who are interested in Indian philology will await impatiently the book, announced for publication by M. Paul Geuthner (68 Rue Mazarine, Paris), in which M. Decourdemanche has embodied the fruits of his labours in Constantinople, Rumania, and Spain. Its title and contents, according to M. Geuthner's *Ephémérides Bibliographiques*, No. 14, Novembre-Décembre 1907, will be as follows:—

GRAMMAIRE DE LA LANGUE DES TCHINGANÈS OU
BOHÉMIENS NOMADES

Par J. A. DECOURDEMANCHE

Des cinq principes—formation des verbes—formation des substantifs—déclinaison—
particules locatives—éléments extra-nominaux et extra-verbaux—conjugaison
des verbes—analyse des mots—résumé—liste d'ouvrages sur les chinganes.

1 vol. in-12, 250 pp. environ, paraîtra en 1908 6 fr.

Cette grammaire est basée sur l'application de cinq principes dont aucune mention
n'a été faite jusqu'ici :

1. Il existe cinq voyelles. Chacune d'elles est l'indice de l'un des cinq genres :
A, du neutre simple ; O, du masculin ; I, du féminin ; E, du neutre composé ; U,
du neutre absolu ou absence de genre ;

2. Il existe cinq stades locatifs de proximité ou d'éloignement ; les cinq voyelles
et les dix-sept consonnes sont réparties entre les cinq stades ;

3. Chacune des consonnes est le thème d'un verbe locatif. Il n'existe pas d'autres
verbes dans la langue ;

4. Il existe cinq exceptions, savoir : (a) Terre ; (o) Force, chaleur, lumière ; (i)
Mucoosité, liquide ; (e) Être ou chose ; (u) Cri ; il n'existe pas d'autres substantifs
dans la langue ;

5. Chacune des cinq exceptions peut être rendue par l'une quelconque des
consonnes, qui en constitue le thème.

De l'application de ces cinq principes naissent toutes les formes de la langue.

Par suite, chacune des lettres qui entrent dans la composition d'un mot a une
valeur au point de vue du sens, et la signification d'un mot est la résultante de la
valeur des lettres employées à le composer.

42

THE PATRON SAINT OF GYPSIES

SINCE the publication of a note on St. Sara by M. Gaspard Galy and M. Auguste Ribon (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i. note 12) several members have pointed out references in literature to the Gypsy festival. Our President refers to Mr. and Mrs. Pennell's *Play in Provence* (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), where two chapters, with ten vivid illustrations, are devoted to 'The Maries' Story' and 'The Maries' Feast' respectively. The authors quote from Miss Harriet Waters Preston's translation of Mistral's *Mirèio*, and Mr. Arthur Symonds sends the following passage from his *Memoirs* (London, Edward Arnold, 1907, p. 245): 'The church was crammed with people of all kinds from Languedoc, from Arles, the maimed and the halt, together with a crowd of Gipsies, all one on the top of the other. The Gipsies buy bigger candles than anybody else, but devote their attention exclusively to Saint Sarah, who, according to their belief, was one of their nation. It is here, at the Saintes-Maries, that these wandering tribes hold their annual assemblies, and from time to time elect their queen.'

Finally, on October 29 last, during the Budget debate in the French Parliament, M. Fernand David revealed incidentally the reason why the name of the Gypsy saint is not to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*. A *Gâjo* church has refused to recognise her sanctity: she is not authentic—she is *foëni*. 'Il faut dire pourtant à la décharge du Gouvernement,' explains M. David, 'que les bandes de nomades ont une tendance plus grande à venir sur le territoire français que sur celui des autres pays, parce qu'ils ont chez nous la capitale éphémère de leur bizarre empire. Cette capitale est située dans la Camargue, aux Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer. C'est dans la crypte de l'église des Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer que toutes les années, dans la nuit du 24 au 25 mai, les romanichels, accourus de l'Europe entière, viennent élire leur reine. Ils se conduisent là d'ailleurs, en souverains maîtres du pays.'

After recounting the legend, he resumes: 'J'ai visité l'église dont je parle; la crypte contient dans un angle un monument intéressant, c'est un autel du dieu Mithra, dieu païen du feu et de l'eau qui est aussi l'objet de la vénération des nomades, et sur cet autel est placé la châsse qui doit contenir les ossements de sainte Sara. Il faut dire qu'au regard de l'Église catholique *Sara n'est d'ailleurs pas une sainte authentique*. Les romanichels vénèrent-ils plus spécialement Mithra ou Sara? C'est ce qu'on ne sait pas, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que dans la nuit du 24 au 25 mai la crypte et l'église est leur domaine inviolable.

'Peut-être le Gouvernement pourrait-il intervenir et empêcher ces réunions annuelles. Le pittoresque y perdrait sans doute, mais l'ordre public ne pourrait qu'y gagner.'

Sixteen years ago Mr. Joseph Pennell wrote these hopeless words at the end of his chapter: 'This, one of the last unexploited religious festivals of the world, will have lost its character and simplicity before our book is printed. For my friend, the engineer, is at work on a railway.' And now a sadder fate threatens the village; and if, in the future, the impatient tourist shall chance upon a deserted shrine on the sands, as did William L., Count of Provence, before he restored the greatness of the Saintes-Maries, he may be told: 'This was once the Gypsy Mecca.'

43

BRITISH GYPSY CRIMES

Records are not published by which the behaviour of British nomads can be judged, nor are any statistics available that distribute the burden of crime

accurately between the Gypsies and their *posh-rat* and *gájo* companions on the road. Magistrates, policemen, and newspaper reporters—even the enlightened British public—cannot, or do not, distinguish between nomad Gypsies and other vagrant classes, but group all offenders under the more picturesque title. In consequence none of those concerned are satisfied: the Gypsies complain that the misdeeds of disreputable tramps are imputed to them, and the ‘travellers’ grumble that ‘the wust of our dravelin’ life is cos o’ they Gypsies; they gits us all a bad name.’

The following analysis of 324 charges brought against so-called Gypsies during the nine months April to December 1907, and reported in newspapers, throws considerable light on the question :—

1. Sleeping out, or sleeping in tents,	10	
Damaging turf, etc., by camping,	19	
Camping on the highway,	30	
Allowing horses to stray,	43	
Obstructing road, tethering horses in road, etc.,	9	
Making fires within fifty feet of road,	11	
Setting fire to gorse,	4	
Want of water-supply or sanitary accommodation,	18	144
2. Careless or furious driving,	6	
Cart or van without lights,	4	
No name on cart or van,	6	
Dog without name on collar,	5	
Hawking without a licence,	1	22
3. Poaching,	15	
Taking wood, sticks, ferns, etc.,	21	
Breaking pound,	2	
Fortune-telling,	1	
Hoaxing, with fortune-telling,	2	41
4. Cruelty to horses,	6	
Begging, or causing children to beg,	8	
Cruelty to, or neglect of, children,	3	17
5. Assault (two serious cases—eleven females),	35	
Drunkenness (sometimes in charge of horses),	11	
Disorderly conduct,	6	
Obscene language,	8	
Using threats,	5	65
6. Small thefts,	28	
Larger thefts (<i>viz.</i> horse and trap, and bicycle),	2	
Obtaining goods by fraud,	1	
Stealing by ruse (not fortune-telling),	2	33
7. Abduction (the girl proved to be over twenty),	1	
Attempted suicide,	1	2
		324

That a large number of the defendants were not Gypsies is proved by the fact that, even when all the Smiths (a name which does not necessarily brand its bearer as a Romanichal) are included, only 143, or 44 per cent. of the 324 persons accused, had surnames which are mentioned in Leland's list (*The Gypsies*, pp. 304-9). And Leland did not pretend to be as exclusive as Burke and Debrett, for many families which admittedly possessed only half- or quarter-blood were recognised in his Peerage.

In the case of these 143 the surname, coupled with the fact of nomad life, makes the assumption reasonable that at least a strain of Gypsy blood flowed in their veins. But in the majority of prosecutions, as when Henry Sayers was fined ten shillings and four shillings costs for having lighted a fire within fifty feet of the centre of the highroad, it is as probable that there was *kálo rat* on the bench, where sat half a score of worthy *gájos*, or in the witness-box, which was graced by the presence of Lord Farrar, as in the dock, which was occupied by poor Sayers.

While small misdemeanours are often unreported in the newspapers, greater offences never escape notice; and for this reason the comparative freedom of the above record from serious crime is a remarkable testimony to the orderly life which British Gypsies now lead. Sections 1 and 2, including more than half the charges, are composed of little violations of the law which might be committed, almost innocently, by anybody who happened to be living as a nomad. In section 3 are grouped offences which have their origin in the differences between the Romani and the *gájo* codes of morality. Such misdeeds leave on the tenderest Gypsy conscience a scar no larger than that produced on the conscience of a justice of the peace when his chauffeur is fined for exceeding the legal speed limit.

The 117 charges described in sections 4 to 7 are all more or less disgraceful, and would be so considered by every Gypsy, though 'mumple tramps' may take a laxer view. But many of the small thefts were very small indeed—a handful of fruit from an orchard, a few swedes from a field, or a single stick from a hedge. The two which are classified as 'larger' were committed by persons who were evidently non-Gypsies. In connection with section 5 it is only fair to remember that the tent-dweller, driven to the suburbs of towns owing to the enclosure of common lands and the possession of bicycles by rural policemen, now lives in public, his every act open to the critical view of unfriendly spectators, and that an insignificant family argument, which would pass unnoticed within the four brick walls of a house, very easily becomes 'disorderly conduct,' or something worse, in the case of the Gypsy.

But after all, and including, as we have included for the sake of argument, the merry-go-round attendants, showmen, travelling tinkers *et hoc genus omne*, and omitting to expunge from the list the names of some three dozen persons who were accused only to be acquitted, is this record one which need make the strictest moralist blush for the Gypsy race?

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MEASURES WHICH FAILED

THE proclamation and enactment printed below (from a private collection in Liverpool) may serve as specimens of the persecuting statutes passed against the Gypsies during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Following the example of Ferdinand of Spain, who as early as 1492 issued an edict for the extermination of this race, the chief sovereigns of Europe, who had at first tolerated and even supported the wandering *kálé*, within fifty years had almost universally determined to expel them. England in 1531, France in 1561, and

Italy in 1572 in turn pronounced sentence of banishment upon them. But the number and virulence of these statutes in Germany prove that it was in the Holy Roman Empire that the persecution of the Gypsies was most severe and merciless. In innumerable imperial decrees, provincial princely edicts, and police ordinances aimed at their extirpation the Gypsies are almost invariably referred to as 'vermin' or a 'dissolute land-hurtful rabble,' and the punishments for their presence within certain districts are exceptionally harsh and unjust.

The German proclamation seems to be one of a series which began with Maximilian's statute at the Augsburg Diet, 1500, and included the decrees passed at Speyer 1544, Augsburg 1548 and 1557, the police regulations at Frankfurt 1577, the Electoral mandates and official circulars of Saxony of the years 1579, 1590, 1621, 1652, 1670, 1689, 1696, 1703, 1713, 1720, 1722, etc., the royal Prussian edicts of 1638, 1709, 1715, 1728, 1739, etc., 'his electoral princely grace's' ordinance at Mayence 1714, the orders of the princely 'Circle of Suabia' (Ulm, 1749), and similar decrees in Saxe-Gotha and Würtemberg.

WOn Gottes gnaden Wir Heinrich Julius
Postulierter Bischoff zu Halberstadt / vnd Herzog zu Braun-
schweig vnd Lüneburg / etc. Geben allen vnnnd jeden vnsern vnnnd
vnser Fürstenthümben Graff: vnnnd Herrschaffen / Prælaten / denen von der
Ritterschafft / Großvogten / Hauptmennen / Amptleuten / Beuelichhabern / Vogten /
Hogreffen / Schnltzheissen / auch Richtern / Bürgermeistern vnnnd Råhten in Stedten /
vnd in gemein allen vnnnd jeden vnsern Vnterthanen vnnnd Verwanten negst erbietung
vnser Gnade hiemit zuwissen / Ob wol weilandt der Hochgeborner Fürst / Herr
Julius Herzog zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg / etc. Vnser freundlicher vnnnd
vielgeliebter Herr Vater Hochlöblicher Christmiltler gedechtnus bey E. G. vnd L.
Regierung vnd wir nach derselben Födtlichen Abgang / von wegen der Landstreicher /
Hernlosen Knechte / Gardebrüder / Müßiggenger / Außlendischer Bettler vnnnd
dergleichen Leichtes gefindleins allerhandt vnterschiedliche ernstliche nothwendige
Mandata vor vnnnd nach / sonderlich aber wir noch eins newlich den 11. Junij
Anno 95. Pupliciren vnd außgehen lassen / in gnediger zuuerstcht / es solte
demselben ein jeder vnter obgesetzten vnsern Stenden / Beuehlichhabern / Dienern
vnnnd Vnterthanen zu seinem vnd ihrer allerseits selbst besten höchsten vermögens
vndertheniglich nachgesetzt / vnnnd also berürtes vnartiges Vold auß vnd von
vnsern Landen vnd Gebieten numehr gar abgeschrecket vnd zurüß getriebe haben :
So befinden wir doch mit sonderbahrer besrembung / zu großem vngnedigem
mißfallen / in der that / vnd ihr vnserer gehorsame Landstende Wölffenbüßlichen
theils habt euch auff negsten im anfang des Junij zu Salzdalem gehaltenem
Landtage selbst vndertheniglichen beklagt / was gestalbt oberwenten vnsern vnd
vnser Herrn Vaters außgangenen Mandaten zuwieder noch zur zeit so woll auff
vnser Beampten / als auch der Stende eigener seiten wegen berürter gefellen ein
gahr geringes vffmercken beschehen / vnd weil daher von vns / laut des auff erwentem
Landtage erfolgtem abschiedt inhalts des 45. Artikels gnediglich eingewilligt / das
wir einenjeden zu besserer ernstler verfolgung vielbesagten bößen gefindes in gnaden
vermahnen vnd halten wolten / solchs auch sonst in gemein in andern vnsern
Erblendern ebener gestalt die notturfft ersurdert. Demnach thun wir obangedeutete
vnser Herrn Vaters vnd vnserer dißfals hiebvor Puplicirte Edicta hiemit vnd
in Krafft dieses nochmals von neuen erwiedern / vnd den vnsern so obgenent /
sambt vnd sonders niemand außbescheiden bey vermeidung vnser Höchsten straff /
ernstlich Auffserleggen vnd gebieten / das ihr fernegst vber obgesetzten nütßlichen

Verordnungen streiffer vnd besser / dann bißdaher geschehen haltet / Beuorab aber alsbalt vnd nach verkündigung dieses wie auch alle Jahr zu unterschiedlichen mahlen / ja teglich so oft es die gelegenheit gibt durch die Ampts Diener / Vogte Höggräffen Hoffmeister vnnnd dergleichen fleißig Inquiriren, erkundigen vnd nachforschen lasset / Was vor vnbestandtes frembdes Vold / auch vnter denen so sich Heußling nennen / vnd weder vnter vns Geborn / noch sonst jemals mit Vfsicht vnnnd Aiden verwandt worden / darzu auch kein Schad noch Tax geben / im gleichen vor durchstreicher Gadenbrüder / frembde Außlendische Bettler / Tartern vnd Ziegenern verbanden / vnd do der einer oder mehr befunden werden / den oder dieselben bey Leibstraff angeßichts vnd bey Sonnenschein auß vnserm Lande zu ziehen gebietet / vnd im fall solchs in dero jnen benenneten zeit nicht geschehen / oder sich etwa sonst dagegen ehliche mit vnnügen draw worten / oder anderer vngewürlichen gestalt bezeigen solten / den oder dieselben vngeseumt in wolnerwarliche haßft nemet vnd es vns gegen solche Freueler was sich gebühren wil / haben vorzunehmen / ohne verzug zuwissen machet / Solten auch etwa die hie zu so wol auff vnser als der Landtsknechte seiten bestalte Diener oder auch vnser Beampten vnd ander Gerichtshern selbst sich hierin seumig vnd verdecktig bezeigen / oder mit solchen gesellen leichen vnd durch die Finger sehen / auff den fall sol ein jeder Oberher die seumige Diener mit Gelt oder Gefengnns nach gestalten sachen zubeleggen / die beampten vnd Gerichtshern aber / so sich dißfalls selbst straffbar machen / vnser bestalter Landtskiscal zu verdienter Mulcten zuuernügen hiemit beuelicht sein. Würde aber etwa ein ehrlicher Kriegszuck angehen / oder auffhören / vnd dazwischen ein Aufrrichtiger Soldate im hin oder zurück reisen vnser Lande berüren vnd seines verhaltens glaubwürdigen schein vorlegen / auff den fall können wir in gnaden geschehen lassen / das man demselben auff sein bescheidenlichs ansuchen nach eines jeden vermügen etwas an Essen vnd Trinken oder Gelt zum vortzuge gutwilliglich zuwenden / Er sol aber dogegen mit dem was man ihme auß guten willen / dareichen wirdet / friedlich vnnnd begnügig sein / sich auch sonst in keinem Gerichte vber ein Nacht verhalten / noch von einem Gerichte zum andern besseitwert / sondern strack vort vnd gleich durch ziehen / oder in vbertretung dessen wieder in / gleich obgesetzten / verfahren werden / darnach sich ein jeder zurichten / es gereicht solchs einem jeden vnser Untertanen zum besten / vnd vnangesehen es die höchsten noth / geschicht daran vnser ernstlicher geheiß / wille vnnnd meinung / vnd wir seind euch den vnsern mit gnaden vnd gutem gewogen / Verkündlich haben wir diß mit vnserm Braunschweigischen Gangelley Secret vnterdrucken vnnnd geben lassen Vff vnser Beste Wolffenbüttel Am 18. Augusti Anno 1597.

Henricus Perceus

TRANSLATION.

We, by the grace of God, Henry Julius, . . . Bishop of Halberstadt and Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, etc., greet each and all Our and Our Principality's Counts . . . and in general each and all Our subjects and kinsfolk and give them herewith to know: That although heretofore the high-born prince Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, etc. Our gracious and well-beloved father . . . and We Ourselves after his decease, by reason of the vagrants, masterless knaves,

'bonnets,' loafers, outlandish beggars, and the like dissolute rabble, have caused to be published and issued both formerly and recently divers and sundry necessary and express Mandates, but especially one lately on the 2nd of June 1595, graciously trusting that the same would be obediently implemented by each of Our above-mentioned deputies, commanders, servants and subjects to the very best of his and their ability; and that thus this disorderly folk aforesaid would by now have been scared and expelled root and branch from out Our lands and territories: We nevertheless find to Our exceeding surprise and indignant displeasure that actually you, Our obedient deputies of the Wolfenbüttel division, at the Diet held recently in the beginning of June at Salzdale, have humbly deplored the negligent fashion in which our orders have been observed, despite the aforesaid mandates against the said fellows, issued by Us and Our father, and also recently by both Our officials and deputies of their own accord; and because therefore on the subsequent dismissal of the aforesaid Diet, in conformity with the tenor of Article 45, We graciously agreed to exhort and constrain one and all to pursue this oft-mentioned wicked rabble with more thoroughness and zeal, and likewise in general, when need requires, elsewhere in Our other hereditary dominions: We do therefore, by virtue of this, herewith renew once more the above-mentioned edicts heretofore published by Our father, and in this case by Us, and earnestly enjoin and charge you Our aforesaid [subjects], all and every one with no single exception, under pain of Our severest punishment: That you henceforth observe the aforesaid salutary decrees with greater strictness and attention than hitherto; That at once without delay, after the publication of this edict, every year at divers seasons, even every day whenever occasion offers, you shall diligently seek, and cause inquiry and search to be made by means of the beadles, bailiffs, justices, governors and the like for the unknown alien race, including such as call themselves Heussling (?cottagers), and were neither born among us nor in former years ever became allied through duties and service [rendered], and pay moreover neither tax nor impost, and likewise for the prevalent roving 'bonnets,' strange outlandish beggars, Tartars and Gypsies, and, where one or more of them be found, he or they shall be ordered to withdraw from Our territories immediately and before daybreak under pain of corporal punishment, and in case this happen not in the specified time, or some of them should chance to be abusive or otherwise behave improperly, you shall immediately take him or them into close custody, and acquaint us forthwith that you have carried out the proper treatment for such delinquents: Should it happen that the servants appointed as well by Us as the deputies, or even Our officials and justices themselves, should appear remiss or liable to suspicion herein, or should they (?) consort with and connive at such fellows, in that case every governor shall impose on the negligent servant a fine or imprisonment according to the circumstances; but with regard to the officials and justices, who in such cases have rendered themselves liable to punishment, Our appointed attorney-general is herewith commanded and empowered to fine them according to their deserts. But should an honourable campaign begin or terminate, and meanwhile a genuine soldier on his outward or return journey visit our dominions, and present satisfactory evidence of his condition, in that case We can graciously permit him to be voluntarily given, at his own modest request, food and drink or money to help him on his way according to each man's means; he must, however, be content and satisfied with whatever has been voluntarily bestowed on him; moreover he must not stay more than one night in any parish, nor travel deviously but directly and without delay from one parish to another, or if he infringe the aforesaid decrees a second time he shall be dealt with, according to his conduct. This will prove to the advantage of each of Our subjects, and except in cases of extreme need, let Our earnest bidding, purpose and will be done in this particular. And towards you Our subjects We are graciously disposed with good affection. In witness whereof we have ordered this mandate to be stamped with Our Brunswick privy seal, and to be issued from our fortress of Wolfenbüttel, August 18, 1597.

The Austrian mandate—the sixteenth clause of an enactment dated 'Vienna, the 12th day of the month of September 1710'—is similarly a type of the decrees

issued against the Gypsies in the Archduchies of Austria (Lower and Upper Ems) and Silesia in the years 1618, 1619, 1683, 1685, 1686, 1688, 1689, 1695, 1703, 1706, 1708, 1715, 1720, 1721, and 1726, etc.

Sechzehendens, Weilen ungehindert der so verschidenen emanirten Land-Fürstlichen Generalien, und darinnen vorgesehnen scharffen Bestrafung, das schädliche Ziggeiner-Gesindl gleichwohl fortan in dem Land hin und her streift, die arme Untertannen mit Betrohung Sengen und brennen erpressen, und allen Muthwillen verübet; Als werden hiemit alle und jede Löbliche Landts-Mit-Glieder, forderist aber die Land-Gerichts-Herren beweglich ermahnet, daß sie auff dergleichen Land-verderbliches Ziggeiner auch anderes im Land herumvagirendes Herrnlooses Gesindl, als Schergen, Abbeder, Schäßler, und dergleichen, ein wachsames Aug halten, selben keinen Unterschleiß geben, sondern mit Zuziehung ihrer Untertannen, und zu dem Land-Gericht gehörigen Mannschafft, derentwegen die Herren Land-Ober-Commissarii, eines jeden Viertls, als an welche bereits die Intimation ergangen, schriftlichen zu belangen seynd, in Verhafft bringen, in Kraft obangeführter Landts-Fürstlichen Generalien verfahren, und die renitirende Herrschafften und Land-Gerichter, forderist aber diejenige, welche diesem losen Gesindl Unterschleiß gestatten, zu gehöriger Bestrafung alsogleich denen Löblichen Herren Verordneten Naßhafft machen sollen, damit selbige bey höherer Instanz wider dergleichen saumbjeelige Land-Gerichter das Benöthigte vorsehen können.

TRANSLATION.

[WE, N. and N., commissioners of the noble estate of the Arch-Duchy of Austria . . . etc., send to all and each . . . etc. our respective Service, Greetings and Good Will, and herewith give them to understand: etc. . .]

16thly: Inasmuch as mischievous hordes of Gypsies, undeterred by various general decrees issued by the reigning prince, and the stringent punishment therein provided, still continue to wander up and down the country and blackmail our poor subjects with threats, and with burning and firing, and commit every kind of villainy: Each and all worthy local magistrates, but especially the County Court ushers, are herewith earnestly exhorted to keep a watchful eye on such 'land-hurtful' hordes of Gypsies and other masterless men tramping the country—as catchpoles, flayers, coopers and suchlike—to give them no shelter, but with the aid of their [?our] subjects and the troops attached to the County Court (which aid must be demanded in writing from the provincial Lord High Commissioners of each individual district—to wit, those which have already been apprized): to arrest and prosecute [them] by virtue of the above-mentioned princely general decree. Moreover the refractory authorities and County Courts, but especially those which harbour these vagabonds, shall be immediately referred by name to the honourable Lords Commissioners for punishment, so that necessary measures can be taken in a higher court against such negligent County Courts.

D. E. YATES.

45

A GYPSY'S GRAVE

'Here lies Merrily Joules
A beauty bright
That left Isaac Joules
Her heart's delight
1827.'

This is the epitaph of a Gypsy-queen down in Yatton, Somerset. Isaac Joules was the son of a Wiltshire farmer and a stone-mason by trade. After a dispute

about property he forsook his own people and his father's house for Morella Cooper, whom he married, much against the wish of his family, henceforward leading a Gypsy's life for her sake. Now the 'King of the Gypsies,' as he was called, rests with his Merrily in the old West-Country churchyard; while some of Merrily's tribe are still to be found in their permanent camp in an old stone-quarry under Bleadon Hill.¹

'A full-blooded Egyptian she was,' says her grandson, 'and out-o'-the-way beautiful!'

Tall, dark, and handsome are the Joules race, with coal-black hair. Ever since Merrily's day their dead are carried to Yatton for burial, and in the summer that followed the death of old Jane Joules, at the age of ninety-one, one of the women of the tribe came up and painted all the stones red, white, and blue! A mason met some of them down in Kingston Seymour and asked: 'Who painted they stones up to Yatton churchyard?' 'I did!' answered one of the Gypsies. 'What made 'ee paint 'em in such wunnerful queer colours then?' 'Well, we had the paint by us, and thought it would save buying any more!' The weather has since *toned down* the paint on the headstones, but it could never be got off again!

Yatton Church dates back to 1084, possibly earlier, when Brithelm, the first vicar, held it for Bishop Giso, to whom William the Conqueror had given Yatton Manor, once in possession of John the Dane. We read in the church registers of 'a new rood-loft put up with seventy images' in 1455, and in 1524 of the 'Churchyard Cross erected.' Later on it is recorded that the inhabitants petitioned for a chapel that stood in this churchyard, 'to make a sluice against the rage of the Sea,' to whose high tides drift-marks of sand and sea-shells still bear evidence; and in the same year the church sold a silver cross for making the sluice. Shortly after we read of a subscription being raised 'in preparation for defence against the Spanish Armada.' Then we come to 'Bells made a peal of eight,' 1824, and finally to 'Court de Wyke tithe-barn burnt down, 1898.' The white stone effigies of Evelina de Wyke and her husband Sir Robert de Gyene lie in stately honour within the north transept.

Outside the church walls, in the long grass waved by the winds from the sea, sleeps the Gypsy-queen by the side of her heart's delight!

ALICE E. GILLINGTON.

46

GYPSY COOKERY

The following *recipe* for cooking fresh-water fish was addressed by Mr. John Titterton, of Ely, son of a quondam governor of Peterborough Gaol, to 'Autolycus,' and printed in the *Hunts County News* on a date which I have not recorded. Mr. Titterton found a young Gypsy, Jesse by name, fishing in winter through the ice, and learned from his wife Zarra how she cooked his catch:—

'I want you to show me how you cook roach, if you don't mind.' 'That I will; I was just going to begin. You will think the Romani ways rough, perhaps.' Drawing a bag towards her, she took out three small tin boxes, some paper, a skewer, a knife, and small wire gridiron. Taking some flaring sticks off the fire, she replenished the glowing embers with a few pieces of touchwood, evidently taken from the inside of a decayed willow. Then the mysterious bag yielded two plates of enamel ware, which were reared up against the embers to warm; then the gridiron was put on, and a roach, taken from about a dozen at hand, put on just as it was. After it had hissed and sputtered a while, the fish was adroitly turned over with the skewer, and the other side roasted.

¹ See Morwood, *Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van*, London, 1885, pp. 77 and 170.

The roach was now transferred to a piece of paper, the head seized in her finger and thumb, given a dexterous twist, separating it from the body, and pulled up, bringing with it the entire inside hard and clean. Next the point of the knife was deftly run down the back, and the scales came away in two plates and [were] thrown aside with the paper, a little clean piece being substituted. A little flour from one of the boxes was dredged on, and a tiny piece of butter dropped inside the fish, the whole being returned to the grid until just brown on both sides. I should have said a trifle of pepper and salt from another box had been added. 'By Jove,' I said, 'you are clever, though.' An arch look, and the pretty teeth came into play again, when she said, 'Do taste it, sir,' and a loaf and another shut knife came out of the bag. A slice was cut in a jiffy, and the fish laid on top. 'My hands are quite clean,' said she, as she handed it to me. 'What do you think of it, sir,' was the inquiry. 'Why, it's ripping good. I say, you know you're a valuable wife.' 'Ah! ah! so she is, sir, so she is; can do almost anything with her hands' [said her husband].

G. M. IMLACH.

47

GYPSES IN TURKESTAN

At Andijan 'two gypsy women (*Liuli*) came in to look at us: they sang songs for me, presented flowers, and tried their best to get some money from me. Gypsies—who are not uncommon in these countries—look very much like the Kirghiz, but are easily distinguished from them, being much handsomer and having more regular features.'—Eugene Schuyler, *Turkestan*, vol. ii. p. 41, New York, 1876.

GEO. F. BLACK.

48

LIANCE OF POITOU

Tallemant des Réaux died on 10th November 1692, at Paris. He was in his lifetime 'du monde et de tous les mondes, ici et là très estimé et vanté.' The manuscript of his *Historiettes* remained unprinted for more than a century, and probably for more than a century and a half, for they may have been written decades before his death, and they certainly were not published till 1853. They contain the following account of a Gypsy *danseuse* :—

'Liance est la *Preciosa* de France. Après la belle Égyptienne de Cervantes, je ne pense pas qu'on en ait vu une plus aimable. Elle était de Fontenay-le-Comte, en bas Poitou; c'est une grande personne, qui n'est ni trop grasse ni trop maigre, qui a le visage beau et l'esprit vif: elle danse admirablement. Si elle ne se barbouilloit point elle seroit claire-brune. Au reste, quoiqu'elle mène une vie libertine'—that is, free and roving—'personne ne lui a jamais touché le bout du doigt. Elle fut à Saint-Maur avec sa troupe, où M. le Prince étoit avec tous ses lutins de petits maîtres; ils n'y firent rien. Besserade la rencontra une fois chez Madame la Princesse, la mère; il pensa la traiter en Bohémienne, et lui toucha à un genou. Elle lui donna un grand coup de poing, et tira en même temps une demi-épée qu'elle avoit toujours à la ceinture. "Si vous n'étiez pas céans, lui dit-elle, je vous poignarderois."—"Je suis donc bien aise, lui dit-il, que nous y soyons."

'Madame la Princesse, la jeune, fit ce qu'elle put pour la retenir, et lui faisoit d'assez belles offres. Il n'y eut pas moyen. Elle dit pour ses raisons, "Sans ma danse mon père, ma mère et mes frères mourroient de faim. Pour moi, je quitterois volontiers cette vie-là."

'La Reine s'avisait de la faire mettre en une religion. Elle pensa faire enrager tout le monde, car elle se mettoit à danser dès qu'on parloit d'oraison. La Roque,

capitaine des gardes de M. le Prince, devint furieusement amoureux d'elle ; il la fit peindre par Beaubrun. Gombauld fit ce quatrain pendant qu'on travailloit à son portrait :—

“ Une beauté non commune
Veut un peintre non commun,
Il n'appartient qu'à Beaubrun
De peindre la belle brune.”

Ils lui donnèrent à diner. Ils disent qu'ils n'ont jamais vu personne manger si proprement, ni faire toute chose de meilleure grâce, ni plus à propos. La veille qu'elle partit, La Roque lui donna à souper ; elle étoit en bergère et lui en berger. Enfin on la maria à un des mieux faits de la troupe. Ce faquin s'amusa avec quelques autres à voler par les grands chemins, et fut amené prisonnier à l'Abbaye, au faubourg Saint-Germain. Elle sollicita de toute sa force, et de telle façon que le Roi envoya quérir le bailli, qui lui fit voir les charges. Le Roi dit à Liance et à ses compagnes, “ Vos maris ont bien la mine d'être roués.” Ils le furent, et la pauvre Liance depuis ce temps-là a toujours porté le deuil et n'a point dansé.

Pauvre Liance !

J. H. YOXALL.

49

INDIA AND THE GYPSIES

The Indian ‘Gypsies’ have, so far as I know, very little to do with Romani, although some of them have picked up words which are closely connected with it (e.g. *mānrō*, ‘wheat’); but I think these are only borrowed terms. Most of these ‘Gypsies’ are Dravidians from the South of India, but a few of them (e.g. the Labānās who are dealt with in the Bhil volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*¹) may have Pisāca blood in their veins.

I think that a former suggestion by Professor Pischel is undoubtedly right, viz. that the *linguistic* home of the Romané is to be found in North-Western India, mostly beyond the frontier—in Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitral. There are Doms there who are not low-caste and are professional singers, and this name may be the origin of *Romani*. But the linguistic evidence, in my opinion, is conclusive. These people of the North-Western frontier speak a group of languages which I call *Pisāca*,² and the resemblances to Romani are quite convincing. For instance, a large number of the American Gypsy words in Professor Prince's vocabulary³ can be equated with Shīnā, the language of Gilgit.

The Pisācas represent an Aryan tribe which entered India from the Pamir country in the North over the Hindu Kush. In the inhospitable region where they are still spoken, their languages have been preserved in a remarkable manner, but as they entered the plains of the Panjab their speech became partially mixed with those of the other Aryan tribes who entered India from the West. Still the Pisācas have left traces even there which can be followed quite distinctly down the valley of the Indus into Sindh, across the North of Gujerat into the Bhil country, where the traces are very strong, and on into the Vindhya Hills, where they have affected the local dialects of Mārāthī.

G. A. GRIERSON.

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ix. part iii. Calcutta, 1907.

² Grierson, *The Pisāca Languages of North-Western India*. London, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, 22 Albemarle Street, W., 1906.

³ J. Dyneley Prince, ‘The English-Romany Jargon of the American Roads,’ in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxviii. 1907, pp. 271-308.

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¹ The following convention for the use of the words Romany, Romani, Romanes, etc., has been suggested as a guide to contributors in the future:—

Romané—Gypsy subst. plural = 'Gypsy people.' Printed, with this meaning, in italics. Also G. adj. pl. printed in italics.

Romanes—Romany adjective. To be used only in G. quotations, printed in italics. Never to be used as English subst. = 'G. language.'

Romani—English subst. = 'Gypsy language.' To be printed in Roman type.

Romani }—Gypsy adjectives, f. and m. To be used only in Roman quotations, always in *Romano* { italics.

Romanichal—may be used as an English word. Must not be divided.

Romanies—may be used colloquially, as in the broken English dialect for *Romané*.

Romany—English adjective, m. and f. = 'Gypsy.' Roman type.

Romany Rai, or *Ryo*—may be used as an English expression in Roman type. If spelled *Romano Rai* it must be in italics.

Romaninus—If used should be printed in italics as a foreign word.

- 90; *Omâr Khayyâm*, Romani translation of, (rev.), 84-5; *Pratcheely and Prarcherdy*, 'Flame,' (note), 285-6; Preface to M'Cormick's *Tinkler Gs.*, (ref.) 282; *The Romany Ryc*, his edition of, 1, 159; Reminiscences of Francis H. Groome, 258, 314; reviews by, 85-6, 183-5; *Sar*, 'with,' (note), 95-6; *Tar*, 'from,' (note), 286-7; *The Master Thief*, (ref.) 363; *Welsh G. Folk-Tales*, 26-30, 149-56, 258-70, 314-18.
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ERRATA

Page	5, footnote,	<i>for</i>	Grellman	<i>read</i>	Grellmann.
„	32, line 28,	„	Aukland	„	Auckland.
„	155, footnote,	„	und	„	and.
„	163, line 16,	„	pparently	„	apparently.
„	253, „ 17,	„	bow	„	onion.
„	294, „ 5,	„	Kelsey's.	„	Kersey's.
„	326, footnote,	„	penar	„	penav.
„	331, line 11,	„	seven	„	one.

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